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CONNECTING REFUGEES THROUGH MUSIC

Charity Organisations and the Instrumentalisation of Culture

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ABSTRACT

In the context of the so-called refugee crisis, an increasing number of non-profit organisations established music projects for and with refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. While research in the music of refugee communities in host societies has been growing, the charity organisations that work with music projects and refugees themselves have not received much scholarly attention. In this thesis, I provide an initial indexation of charity organisations based in the Netherlands and their main features. This overview of the organisational landscape is the backdrop for a discussion of two case studies, namely Catching Cultures Orchestra (CCO) and Orchestre Partout (OP). I argue that the aims of these organisations to connect refugees and "hosts" together rests on ideas about the presumed quality of music as a universal language and its ability to connect. By bringing the organisational reasoning about their music projects in dialogue with the context of Dutch cultural policy, I show how these efforts can be understood through the "instrumentalisation of culture," namely the use of music and art as a resource to achieve goals such as social cohesion and even "integration."

First, I compare almost a dozen charity organisations in the Netherlands through the following features: how they are funded, where they are located and what their reach is, what their target groups are, which kind of music they chose to use, and their labelling practices. This overview forms the basis for a further analysis of the influence that place, locality, and spatial politics of asylum seeker centres and local neighbourhoods have in the efforts of CCO and OP to construct communities within and around their ensembles. The idea that music connects people with different musical and cultural backgrounds is taken up next in light of the instrumentalisation of culture. Within the climate of ideas about intercultural dialogue, cultural participation and diversity, I show that governments and the organisations alike draw on ideas that music has an intrinsic value while simultaneously using it as a tool for economic and social development. The ability of music to aid "social integration" rests on the idea that refugees and hosts can transcend cultural differences and connect through music.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, this thesis could not have been written without the generosity and aid of the interviewees, Crispijn Oomes, Modar Salama, Niels de Groot, Roelof Wittink and Ted van Leeuwen. I would like to thank them all for their time, effort, and openness about their projects and organisations so that I could write this report. Further, I would like to thank the organisers and musicians of Catching Cultures Orchestra and Orchestre Partout for their hospitality during the rehearsals I was so kindly and warmly allowed to attend, and during the performance of CCO during which I could tag along as if I was one of the band. Another special thanks goes to my fellow students of the Research Master Musicology, Vera van Buren and Andrea Centonza, for all of their helpful peer feedback and support during the entire master program: thank you for keeping me sharp as well as standing! Of course, I especially would like to thank my supervisor dr. Rebekah Ahrendt for her tireless enthusiastic help in the form of providing feedback, academic tips and tricks and inspiration. Her confidence in me during the process of researching, writing and finishing this thesis and the Research Master as a whole has helped me find more confidence in myself and my academic skills. I would also like to thank prof. dr. Rachel Beckles Willson for her willingness to be my second reader. And then there are of course the people behind the scene; a large thank you to all of my friends and family who uplifted me when I needed some encouragement to go on and their endless support so that I could make it to the finish line. Thank you, dad, for helping me out during those last couple of miles. And thank you Irla and Tessa: those postcards will stand on my desk for a long time after submitting this thesis.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Official English Name	Dutch Name
AFK	Amsterdam Fund for the Arts	Amsterdams Fonds voor de Kunst
BIS		Culturele basisinfrastructuur
CCO	Catching Cultures Orchestra	Catching Cultures Orchestra
COA	Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers	Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers
CPF	Cultural Participation Fund	Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie
DT&V	Repatriation and Departure Service	Dienst Terugkeer en Vertrek
EU AMIF	EU Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund	EU Asiel, Migratie en Integratie Fonds
EU ISF	EU Internal Security Fund	EU Fonds voor Interne Veiligheid
IND	Immigration and Naturalisation Service	Immigratie en Naturalisatie Dienst
LKCA	National Centre of Expertise for Cultural Education and Amateur Arts	Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie Amateurkunst
MwB	Musicians without Borders	Musicians without Borders
OCW	Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science	Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap
OP	Orchestre Partout	Orchestre Partout
SoC	Sounds of Change	Sounds of Change

INTRODUCTION:

CONNECTING REFUGEES THROUGH MUSIC

Monday afternoon, and I find myself at a music lesson and band rehearsal of Orchestre Partout, held in the rehearsal room in the asylum seeker centre in Amsterdam. Established by artistic leader Ted van Leeuwen some ten years ago, Orchestre Partout provides weekly music lessons and band rehearsals at three asylum seeker centres in the Netherlands. The band with the same name that is part of the project performs across the Netherlands and consists of asylum seekers and status holders (formerly) living in asylum seeker centres where OP has been active. After seeking out contact with Van Leeuwen to plan an interview and join a lesson and rehearsal, he reminded me to bring my identification card and told me he would enrol me as his guest. After meeting up with Van Leeuwen at the coffee corner of the centre, he notifies me that he forgot to sign me up. Someone at the service and registration desk who seems familiar with Van Leeuwen allows me to visit the music lesson anyway, as long as I try to find a certain someone to register with later for the band rehearsal. When I come back after a brief break between the lesson and rehearsal, I go to the service desk and explain the situation. After I show my identification card, the staff member registers me and provides me with a visitor pass on a key chain that I can wear around my neck. I then wait for Van Leeuwen and the beginning of the band rehearsal.

Later, the atmosphere at the band rehearsal is warm and I am kindly welcomed by the participants, most of whom are status holders that earlier participated in the project at the time they were living in one of the asylum seeker centres where Orchestre Partout is active. Sometime in the rehearsal however, a guest of one of the band members knocks on the door and they both leave for a while. When they come back, a discussion starts and the guest seems upset. I can hardly follow the discussion, which is partly held in a language that I do not know, and quickly after, Van Leeuwen leaves the rehearsal with the two of them for a while. When Van Leeuwen and the band member return again, the (male) guest has apparently left, and Van Leeuwen and the member who brought the guest brief me about the situation. Apparently, the guest was not registered in advance, and did not bring his identification card and as a consequence he was not allowed to join the rehearsal. Van Leeuwen and the band member additionally say the guest got

angry which he should not have done. Perhaps, I think to myself, he would have been allowed as I was if he had brought his identification card, although the thought comes up that my physiognomic Dutchness, gender, and the kind smile I had put on had as much to do with it. I was, after all, allowed to join the music lesson earlier, somewhat "illegally" without having to show my identification card.

This account portrays some of the main issues that I discuss in this thesis in relation to charity organisations (sometimes called non-profit or non-government organisations) based in the Netherlands that have established music projects for and with refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. It shows how boundaries are being drawn between social identities and how people are ascribed or labelled, and self-ascribe certain identities, such as Dutch, refugee, asylum seeker. It presents how these organisations are located in certain spaces, in this case in an asylum seeker centre, in which a politics of space configures who can and cannot be part which ultimately influences the kind of community that can be constructed with music projects like Orchestre Partout. Moreover, it sets the scene for the main topic of the thesis, namely how the charity organisations, with their aim to connect people with different backgrounds together to form a community relates to the larger phenomenon of the instrumentalisation of culture. Or, put differently, how the musical activities of charity organisations to achieve certain social impacts in the lives of refugees, asylum seekers, status holders, as well as Dutch "hosts" can be understood to take place within a certain environment where ideas that music can help transform lives and living conditions are pervasive.

In this thesis, I will give an initial overview of the landscape of organizations in the Netherlands that hold music activities for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. The organizations discussed in the thesis include the following charity organisations: Catching Cultures Orchestra, De Vrolijkheid (the Dutch abbreviation for The National Foundation for the Promotion of Happiness), Musicians without Borders, Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten (Network Migrant Musicians, Orchestre Partout, Sounds of Change, War Child, Zing Nederlands met Me (Sing Dutch with Me), and the music projects from Vluchtelingenwerk. Besides providing this initial sketch of the organisational landscape in the Netherlands, I delve into Orchestre Partout and Catching Cultures Orchestra to see how their efforts to connect people and build communities (an explicit goal of CCO) revolve around ideas about intrinsic values of music and instrumental values of music.

In the rest of this introduction, I provide a brief literature review that helps to situate my research within current existing work on (charity, non-government) organisations that organise music activities for disadvantaged or marginalised groups of people and for conflict

transformation, as well as musicological studies into the music of refugees and asylum seekers. I then somewhat digress into a discussion about the labelling of refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders to both define the way in which I use these terms, but also to show how contested and politicised these terms are. This discussion underlies much of the thinking in this thesis about how organisations and institutions draw boundaries between different kinds of identities, but also how they try to close these gaps by making music together. Thereafter follows a section on methodology and the positioning of this research, and I end this introduction with an overview of the chapters that form the body of this thesis.

CHARITY ORGANISATIONS, MUSICOLOGY, AND REFUGEE STUDIES

A number of authors in the literature on music and refugee communities draw on the concepts of tradition, authenticity, cross-overs and hybridity as musical strategies that musicians might employ in their new environments. These concepts are often connected to the performance of a (group) identity, such as an ethnic, or diasporic identity, through the musical choices of authenticity, hybridity, or cross-overs, or preferred musical genres.[1] Other scholars have researched musical practices in the specific spaces of refugee camps in relation to memory, or in relation to identity and belonging and difference.[2] In some of these studies, like in Mauro van Aken's article, the question of space and spatial politics comes to the fore. However, as Paul DiMaggio and Patricia Fernández-Kelly have noted as well, studies on the role of (government and non-government or humanitarian) institutions on art practices of immigrants, and I would argue by extension of refugees, has not received much attention.[3]

Specifically, DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly point to gaps in research in three areas, the

[1] See for example John Baily, "So Near, So Far: Kabul's Music in Exile," special issue "Music and Identity in Central Asia," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 14/2 (2005): 213-233; Alenka Bartulović and Miha Kozorog, "Gender and Music-Making in Exile: Female Bosnian Refugee Musicians in Slovenia," *Dve Domovini: Two Homelands* 46 (2017): 39-55; Keila Diehl, *Echoes from Dharamsala: Music in the Life of a Tibetan Refugee Community* (London and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Adelaida Reyes, "Asymmetrical Relations: Conflict and Music as Human Response," in *Music and Conflict*, edited by John Morgan O'Connell and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 126-138 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

[2] See Mauro van Aken, "Dancing Belonging: Contesting *Dabkeh* in the Jordan Valley, Jordan," special issue "Music and Migration" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32:2 (2006): 203-222; Kazi Fahmida Farzana, *Memories of Burmese Rohingya Refugees: Contested Identity and Belonging* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), esp. chapter 6, "Music and Art as Symbols of Identity and Everyday Resistance," 191-231.

[3] Paul DiMaggio and Patricia Fernández-Kelly, "Immigration and the Arts: A Theoretical Inquiry," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38/8 (2015): 1236-1237. In the field of musicology, Reyes-Schramm did pay attention to the role of government and non-government institutions on the musical practices of Vietnamese refugees. See Adelaida Reyes, *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free: Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999).

first of which are the behavioural mechanisms that immigrant artists use to adapt or respond to their new environment, the second regards the role of institutions and organizations and how these "create boundaries and inducements for immigrants to engage in artistic expression" (noting Marco Martiniello's study as an exception to this gap), and the third is how artists, both immigrants and native-born citizens, use arts and culture as a way to avoid uncertain labour markets and thus become artistic entrepreneurs to make a living.[4] In relation to the second gap DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly further note that "creative behaviour is not a random occurrence driven solely by personal desires; individuals act in environments shaped by legislative and policy measures."[5] It is this second gap in research that DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly mention that I hope to address with this thesis.

In relation to the charity organisations that I research in this thesis, DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly's statement that the legislative and (cultural) policy measures in which charity organisations find themselves influence and shape organisations could be contributed to in the following way. I suggest that these legislative and cultural policy measures are themselves situated in and influenced by the phenomenon of instrumentalisation of culture. Rachel Beckles Willson's work on the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra and Geoffrey Baker's work about El Sistema's aim to transform lives has helped steer me in this direction and line of thinking.[6] Beckles Willson and Baker both critically look at the organisations, the inner dynamics of their music activities and the possible effects that these organisations have on the lives of the people they are aimed at. Or in other words, whether these institutions actually meet their goals of social development. Thus, the phenomenon of the instrumentalisation of culture in which the art and music is used as a means to ultimately achieve other ends such as social and economic (urban) development and the transformation of lives, became an important lens for me through which to see the charity organisations that establish music projects for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders.

[4] For Martiniello's article see, Marco Martiniello, "Immigrants, Ethnicized Minorities and the Arts: A Relatively Neglected Research Area," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38/8 (2015): 1229-1235. DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly, "Immigration and the Arts," 1236.
[5] DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly, "Immigration and the Arts," 1236.
[6] Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

LABELLING REFUGEES

The many labels in Dutch law which describe displaced persons, including, (internally) displaced persons, refugees, asylum seekers, status holders, (im/e)migrants, exiles, newly-arrived (*nieuwkomer*), or even alien (*vreemdeling*) are difficult to untangle. Some of these terms convey legal status, while others concern (legal) rights, and at the same time they are highly politicized. Further, protection gaps for example for women and children are inherent in many of these legal or status definitions.[7] In light of the assigning of these labels and the manner in which boundaries are drawn between different kind of social identities and statuses by the charity organisations and more broadly by the media and in political and academic discourse—including myself in this thesis—it is important to briefly reflect on these terms.

Legally speaking, in the Netherlands, the UN Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees from 1951 and the Protocol from 1967, as well as the European Convention on Human Rights, form the basis for decisions about whether a person can acquire asylum.[8] The so-called Dutch Alien Act 2000 (in Dutch, Vreemdelingenwet 2000) that was issued in November 2010 revised the then existing legislation dealing with so-called aliens coming into the Netherlands, the eviction of aliens, the supervision of aliens residing in the Netherlands, as well as border security. This legal framework, which also includes EU regulations such as the Dublin Regulation from 2013, is still the current legislation that deals with asylum. In the definition section of this Alien Act in Article 1, "aliens" (*vreemdelingen*) are defined as those people who do not have the Dutch nationality and who cannot be treated on the grounds of a legally defined Dutch person.[9] Refugees are defined as those aliens who are refugees according to the Refugee Convention; it specifically uses the adjective "Convention" refugees.[10] The label asylum seeker is not defined in this Alien Act, but asylum is: "the residency of the alien on Dutch territory, as meant in the Articles 29 and 34."[11] These articles treat the granting of asylum for a definite, or indefinite period. Article 29 states that a definite asylum permit can be granted when a person is deemed a Convention refugee or faces a substantial risk for serious harm, or to the family

[7] For a feminist perspective on the definition of the Geneva Refugee Convention, see Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Gender and Forced Migration," In *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, edited by Elena Fiddian Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona, 395-408 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[8] Rijksoverheid, "Behandelingen Asielaanvragen," https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/asielbeleid/procedure-behandeling-asielzoekers (accessed May 13, 2019).
[9] Overheid.nl, Wettenbank, "Vreemdelingenwet 2000," Artikel 1, https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0011823/2019-02-27 (accessed June 19, 2019).
[10] Overheid.nl, Wettenbank, "Vreemdelingenwet 2000," Artikel 1.
[11] Ibid.

members of a person who gained the definite asylum permit.[12] Article 34 deals with the granting of indefinite asylum, which requires that a person with a definite asylum permit has stayed in the Netherlands for a period of five years, and has passed for the Civil Integration Exam among other requirements.[13]

There is no international instrument that defines "asylum seekers" in the same way that the Geneva Convention defines "refugees." Instead, as Guy Goodwin-Gill pointed out, states themselves can define asylum and are free to consider the conditions of granting someone asylum.[14] According to Roger Zetter, the label "asylum seeker" resulted from an institutional fractioning of the label of (Convention) refugee into asylum seeker, so-called economic refugee/asylum seeker, "genuine refugee," and others, to cope with new forms of migration in the new era of increasing globalization and migration to Europe rather than migration within regions.[15] He argues that "'Asylum seeker' is now a mainstream label, institutionalized in the immigration statues, policies and practices of most European states."[16] He further points out that the label asylum seeker is used for transit stages, or for temporary protection for states in order to manage migration bureaucratically, but which ultimately reduces or withholds the rights of people and may function to more easily decline claims to the status of refugee.[17]

Moreover, the legal definitions are often blurred in public debates, and the fractioning of the label of Convention refugee points to how these terms are highly politicized and not fixed but instead can be transformed through bureaucratic processes of both state and humanitarian and non-governmental institutions as Zetter argues.[18] According to Heaven Crawley and Dimitris Skleparis, the politicization of the terms "refugee" and "(economic) migrant" especially came to stand out during the so-called migrant or refugee crisis in Europe in 2015, as politicians, policy-makers and the media tried to differentiate between whose experience could or should be considered as legitimate for acquiring international protection or rather dismissed as (economic)

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[12] The substantial risks to serious harm are treated in a number of subclauses (1b: 1°, 2°, 3°) and includes death penalty or execution, torture, or inhumane and humiliating treatment or punishments, or treats to the life of a civilian due to international or interstate armed conflict. Wettenbank, "Vreemdelingenwet 2000," Artikel 29.
[13] Wettenbank, "Vreemdelingenwet 2000," Artikel 34.
[14] Goodwin-Gill does point out that states are nonetheless restricted through the definitions of the Genova Convention and the principle of *non-refoulement* (which prevents the sending back of refugees to a country where (s)he would be at risk) and the upholding of human rights laws. Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, "The International Law of Refugee Protection," in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, edited by Elena Fiddian Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 39, 42.
[15] Roger Zetter, "More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20/2 (2007): 172-192.
[16] Zetter, "More Labels, Fewer Refugees," 181.
[17] He additionally points out that there is no ground in international law for such a temporary protection. Zetter, "More Labels, Fewer Refugees," 181-182.
[18] See also Zetter's earlier article, with some of his thoughts revised in the article from 2007: Roger Zetter, "Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4/1 (1991): 39-62.

migrant.[19] Further, many scholars have drawn attention to the manner in which refugees are represented as for example Others, victims, or terrorists, and the so-called refugee crisis as for example a "flood" in media, political, and academic discourses.[20]

The politicisation as well as the ways in which refugees are represented is thus important to keep in mind besides the fact that often blurry definitions labels are used by organisations, as well as media and political discourses. For this reason, I have aimed to maintain the three labels of "refugee," "asylum seeker," and "status holder," and have tried to follow the Dutch legal definitions as much as possible.[21] Where I discuss authors who have used other labels such as "forced" and "voluntary" migrants, or immigrants, I treat these as encompassing or overlapping categories for the labels refugees, asylum seeker, and status holder.[22]

POSITIONING OF RESEARCH(ER) AND METHODOLOGY

Initially, the aim of the research was to gain a deeper understanding of the projects, aims and network relations of the organizations, as well as the experiences of the target group, namely refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders, who participated in the music projects. Especially in relation to Zetter's argument that bureaucratic processes and procedures of humanitarian or non-government, as well as government institutions can form, transform, and politicize the label of refugee and that responses and reactions of refugees to bureaucratic processes and practices can bring this to light, it seemed important to look into the experiences of the target groups themselves.

It soon became clear however, that doing both was not feasible due to the available time as well as the intended institutional scope of this thesis. Additionally, making contacts with

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[19] Heaven Crawley & Dimitris Skleparis, "Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both: Categorical Fetishism and the Politics of Bounding in Europe's 'Migration Crisis,'" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44/1 (2018): 48-49.
[20] See for example, Raia Apostolova, "Of Refugees and Migrants: Stigma, Politics, and Boundary Work at the Borders of Europe," *American Sociological Association Newsletter*, September 14, 2015, available through: https://asaculturesection.org/2015/09/14/of-refugees-and-migrants-stigma-politics-and-boundary-work-at-the-borders-of-europe/ (accessed June 9, 2019); Francesco D'Orazio, "Journey of an Image: From a Beach in Bodrum to Twenty Million Screens Across the World," in *The Iconic Image om Social Media: A Rapid Research Response to the Death of Aylan Kurdi*, edited by Farida Vis, and Olga Goriunova, 11-26 (Visual Social Media Lab, December 2015). Available through: https://research.gold.ac.uk/14624/1/KURDI%20REPORT.pdf (accessed May 20, 2019); Miriam Ticktin, "Thinking Beyond Humanitarian Borders," *Social Research* 83/2 (2016): 255-271. Available through: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309514428_Thinking_beyond_humanitarian_borders (accessed May 20, 2019); Marta Zarzycka, "Stillness en Route: Photographs of Refugees," in *Gendered Tropes in War Photography: Mothers, Mourners, Soldiers* (New York and London: Routledge, 2017), 85-109.
[21] Throughout the thesis, I intend to maintain a critical tone in relation to labels such as "refugee," "asylum seeker," and "alien," but only occasionally use scare quotes to highlight a labelling practice to avoid over usage.
[22] See also for one perspective on the debate on terms like "voluntary," and "forced," Heaven Crawley & Dimitris Skleparis, "Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both."

organizers, who often turned out to function as gatekeepers (especially those who deal with institutions such as COA or work on asylum seeker centres) was a time-consuming process.[23] Ideally, the voices of the musicians and participants of the projects with a refugee background would have given more insight into their experiences of the projects, perhaps their needs and desires, as well as possible issues that might be present below the surface. Already aware of this, it was additionally pointed out to me by one of the respondents, Roelof Wittink, general director and one of the sousaphone players of Catching Cultures Orchestra, who formulated it in the following way:

> Yes, I… I would still really recommend doing so. Also to…, not only because you will get their story. They of course have a very different perspective. They have…, they bring with them a very different background. But also because I ehm…am very much aware that in order to keep things running smoothly, to pull it together, ehm… Yes, you need a couple of people who know their way here. And so, what continuously happens is that eh… the ones who pull the strings the entire time and who are also the spokespersons, all of them are those autochthone Dutch people. And if you *really* want to be equal, then they also have to play an important part into it and also in the phrasing [voicing] of, what does this mean? So yes, I would still strongly, I would strongly recommend you to surely find an opportunity for this.[24]

He then invited me to join a concert later that evening and offered me a ride so I could chat and with the bandmembers with a refugee background, but I have not formally interviewed them.

Besides this however, the social impacts which organizations might have are difficult to assess and require more time than this thesis afforded. Notwithstanding, researching the organizations in closer detail clearly has merits of its own as well. It provides insight into organizational reasoning behind the charity initiatives and the interplay of cultural policies and "climate of ideas," which is a term I take from Rachel Beckles Willson, around intercultural dialogue, cultural participation and "diversity." Thus, the focus of this thesis lies on the organisations themselves, and their relations to cultural policy contexts.

The research method itself consisted partly of constructing semi-structured interviews with a number of key individuals in the organisations, namely Crispijn Oomes from Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, Niels de Groot who is national music coordinator of De Vrolijkheid, the general director of CCO Roelof Wittink, OP's founder and artistic leader of Ted van Leeuwen, and OP's percussionist and music teacher Modar Salama. I already knew Crispijn Oomes with whom I was already friendly before reaching out to him in the context of this thesis. These semi-

[23] For example, in order to be able to attend a music lesson and band session from Orchestre Partout at the asylum seeker center in Amsterdam, I had to be introduced as a visitor by Ted van Leeuwen, the founder and band leader of Orchestre Partout. Ultimately, this backfired in an (unequal?) way, as will be described in chapter 3.
[24] Roelof Wittink, interview with author, May 23, 2019 (translated by author from Dutch to English).

structured interviews of an hour each, and in the case of Crispijn Oomes almost over two hours, gave insight into the personal viewpoints and experiences individual organisers have had with the projects, as well as the self-reflectively in relation to categorizing and labelling refugees. I additionally visited a number of band rehearsals by CCO in community art centre Het Wilde Westen in Utrecht and a performance, and one music lesson plus band rehearsal from OP at the asylum seeker centre in Amsterdam. Other material that is used in this thesis comes from policy documents, annual reports from the charity organisations and from funding bodies, and material such as audio-visual material and mission statements that I found online.

As a born and bred Dutch national, I was aware of my position and some privileges in relation to both the persons involved in projects as organizers and my respondents, most of whom were also born and raised in the Netherlands, and the persons with a migration or refugee background. Most of the respondents in the interviews had similar privileges as me, but often during the rehearsals as is in the example above, there were certain moments when I became aware of some of my own privileges in relation to mostly the participants with a refugee background. The decision to focus on organisations and organisers partly had to do with inexperience of how to deal with this privilege in relation to the people with a refugee background, besides time and scope constraints. Luckily, I did have guidance through tips and tricks from my supervisors and the musicology department of Utrecht University, which provided me with some important literature resources.[25]

The thesis is structured in the following way. The first chapter gives an overview of the institutional landscape of the charity organisations through a thematic discussion of organisational characteristics. It discusses the kind and type the organisations that are dealt with take and aims to take away some terminological confusion about non-profits, charities, non-government organisations and the like. Based on this, I further look into the ways the charity organisations are funded, their geographical location and reach, their different target groups, their musical activities and choices about what music traditions and genres to use in their projects, and the labelling strategies of organisations. The aim of this chapter is to show how different in scope and goals the organisations actually are, which ultimately influences the outcomes of their activities.

After the sketch of the organisational landscape follow two chapters that look closer into Orchestre Partout (OP) and Catching Cultures Orchestra (CCO) as two case studies. There are multiple similarities in these ensembles which makes them easy to compare to one another. The

[25] I relied on the following publication to a large extent: D. Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Methods, Ethics, and Performance* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005).

organisations have similar forms in that they are both performing ensembles and provide or have provided music lessons at asylum seeker centres. They both have regular structural rehearsals at "local" places: in OP's case in the three asylum seeker centres in Amsterdam, Heerhugowaard, and Dronten, and in CCO's case in the community centre Het Wilde Westen. Furthermore, they are both led and founded by Dutch musicians; OP by guitarist Ted van Leeuwen, and CCO by trumpet player and conductor Hermine Schneiders. They also have made similar choices in regard to musical repertoire: both play music that is suggested and brought in by the members with a refugee background. An additional ground for comparing these two organisations is their common root of establishment. CCO was established out of another collaboration of a brass band De Tegenwind (of which Hermine Schneider is conductor) and a band working at the asylum seeker centre in Utrecht. The latter band, called Band zonder Verblijfsvergunning (in English: Band without a Residence Permit), was brought to life through funding of De Vrolijkheid in the image of Orchestre Partout. In its turn, Orchestre Partout was initially established with financial aid by De Vrolijkheid. Thus, from their establishment on, there are certain commonalities between CCO and OP. However, another practical reason played into my choice to take these organisations as my two case studies. They were easily accessible as a result of the hospitality of the organisers including Ted van Leeuwen, and because the rehearsals of CCO were open to the public and held at Het Wilde Westen, which is just a few blocks away from my home in Utrecht.

The differences between CCO and OP however, provided even more food for thought as will become clear in chapter 2 and 3. In chapter 2, I zoom in on the specific localities where OP and CCO are active, respectively the spaces of asylum seeker centres and neighbourhoods. These spaces are shown to influence and shape the kind communities that OP and CCO aim and are able to construct. In this, I distinguish two kinds of communities, namely their internal community in terms of the ensembles and bands, and the community that is built around them. In comparison, OP's community is much more focussed on an internal community, while CCO explicitly aims to build a local neighbourhood community around its ensemble by stimulating neighbourhood residents to participate in their project and activities.

The final chapter discusses the themes of connection and participation too, but from the perspective of theories about the instrumentalisation of culture. It discusses the instrumental usages of music and art as a resource to achieving goals like social development by both charity organisations, funding bodies, and government bodies the latter of which put a lot of effort into stimulating cultural diversity and cultural participation. Here, I explore theories and policy debates about the instrumentalisation of culture which forms the backdrop for an analysis of how

OP and CCO respectively envision music's quality as a universal language which results in a kind of transcendence of cultural differences and misunderstandings, and music's ability to connect people from different musical backgrounds. I show how their ideas about what their projects might achieve either as side goals or side effects is partly based on what they believe the "power" of music to be. In effect, chapter 2 and chapter 3 could be said to highlight two sides of the same coin which I suggest consists of a dynamic that is reciprocally reinforced. On the one hand, CCO and OP both construct a local community through their discursive representations about their goals and their focal points of activism. Especially in the case of CCO, this local community is driven by active participation of neighbourhood residents. The other side of the coin is that neighbourhood participation and cultural diversity are themselves important incentives, or resources, for the municipalities and national government policy, because they are seen to stimulate economic and artistic development.

Institutions and organisations shape and influence behaviour, ultimately defining who is able to take part in musical activities and what kind of (musical) opportunities and constraints there are for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. Factors such as geographical span and scale, target groups in terms of age, gender, as well as level of playing ability can be seen to predetermine who could be part of the project and who could not. The ability of music to connect or the aim to connect people with music is the core theme that links the main arguments in this thesis together. The climate of ideas about what music can achieve in terms of bringing people together is drawn upon in cultural policies as well as in the mission and goal statements of organisations. Ultimately, this aim to connect people through making music together, construct communities, and stimulate things like social integration is part of a context in which music and the arts are partly seen as recourses to achieve other ends. As I will show with this thesis, the music activities of charity organisations offer opportunities as well as constraints, and ultimately draw boundaries between different social identities. Thus, the binding factor which music making can have according to the charity organisations as well as government bodies is set within a climate of ideas of the instrumentalisation of culture in which music is seen as a potential resource to achieve other ends.

CHAPTER 1:

THE ORGANISATIONAL LANDSCAPE AND MAIN FEATURES OF THE ORGANISATIONS

The landscape of the organisations that have set up music projects for and with refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders is a wide one. In an effort to see the forest through the trees in this organisational landscape, I provide an initial sketch of some of the main features of the organisations. These include a discussion of what kind of organisations they are and what their status as "charities" or good causes (*goede doelen*) entails, the manner in which they are funded, their geographical locations and reach, target groups, musical choices, and labelling processes. By describing the organisations in this thematic manner, some of the interconnections or network relations between the organisations and individual actors becomes clear. The overview of different features, rather than addressing each organisation separately, is also intended to facilitate comparison between the organisations and make it easier to see where the goals and efforts of their musical activities overlap. In each of the features, certain organisations will come more prominently to the fore than others when the feature is seen as an important characteristic of the organisation as a whole, for example the kind of target group they focus on.

The organisations that I will discuss in this chapter are: Catching Cultures Orchestra, De Vrolijkheid, Musicians without Borders, Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, Orchestre Partout, Sounds of Change, Vluchtelingenwerk, War Child, and Zing Nederlands met Me. It does not however, aim to be a complete overview of every charity organisation in the Netherlands but to offer an initial introduction to some of the most prominent organisations in the Netherlands and their characteristics. Additionally, the most important goals and activities of the organisations will be addressed mostly in the discussion of geographical location and reach, which thus lays some of the groundwork for an exploration of the remaining features of the organisations, namely target groups, musical activities and genres, and labelling.

All of these features in one way or another configure who can and who cannot take part in the musical activities the organisations provide, as well as what kind of opportunities and what kind of restrictions there are for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. Drawing on Becker,

Paul DiMaggio and Patricia Fernández-Kelly, I emphasise this point as well in stating that different institutions as well as organisations place different constraints and open up different kinds of opportunities for immigrant artists, which I suggest includes refugees and asylum seekers.[26] With this overview I aim to seek out how these different features affect constraints and opportunities for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. All in all, this chapter forms the backdrop to the two chapters that follow in which a number of these features are looked at in more depth and in connection to each other as they apply to the case studies of CCO and OP.

TYPES OF ORGANISATIONS IN THE LANDSCAPE AND CHARITY STATUS

The music organisations that are discussed in this thesis are legally considered charities based on their so-called ANBI status, which is short for Public Benefit Organization (Dutch: Algemeen Nut Beoogende Instelling). Some of the organisations have the additive "cultural" to their ANBI status, like Orchestre Partout and Catching Cultures Orchestra. ANBI statuses fall under charity or good cause institutions, meaning that a large part of their work should be in support of the common benefit.[27] CCO and OP's cultural ANBI status further means that at least ninety percent of their efforts should be for the common benefit in a cultural area and is thus an extra layer on top of ANBI status.[28] As such, the charity organisations at large could be said to fall into a category of organisations and institutions often denominated as either charities, or non-governmental, non-profit, civil society and voluntary organisations. However, these different labels as David Lewis and Nazneen Kanji call them, can become confusing which makes it worthwhile to go a bit deeper into what kind or types of organisations we are dealing with.[29]

There are many labels that are applied to organisations that largely fall in between government and for profit and market-run organisations. These in-between organisations aim in

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[26] Howerd S. Becker, "Art as Collective Action," *American Sociological Review* 39/6 (1974): 767-776; Paul DiMaggio and Patricia Fernández-Kelly, "Introduction: The Diversity and Mobility of Immigrant Arts," in *Art in the Lives of Immigrant Communities in the United States*, edited by Paul DiMaggio and Patricia Fernández-Kelly, 18.
[27] Other such statuses include SBBI—which is seen as benefitting small-scale institutions and its members—and support charities for SBBI institutions.
[28] Belastingdienst, "Wat is een ANBI," https://www.belastingdienst.nl/wps/wcm/connect/bldcontentnl/belastingdienst/zakelijk/bijzondere_regelingen/goede_doelen/algemeen_nut_beogende_instellingen/wat_is_een_anbi (accessed May 31, 2019); Belastingdienst, "Culturele ANBI," https://www.belastingdienst.nl/wps/wcm/connect/bldcontentnl/belastingdienst/zakelijk/bijzondere_regelingen/goede_doelen/algemeen_nut_beogende_instellingen/culturele_anbi/culturele_anbi (accessed May 31, 2019)
[29] David Lewis and Nazneen Kanji, *Non-governmental Organizations and Development*, 1st ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 8.

one way or another to better social, political or economic circumstances and the lives of disadvantaged people. However, the distinctions between the different labels such as charity and non-government, but also the distinctions between for-profit, government, and not-for-profit, are not always clear-cut and often overlap. Lewis and Kanji have discussed this labelling conundrum as well, and as an initial step suggest to see charities, not-for profit and non-government organisations (NGOs) as subsets of the so-called third sector. The concept of "third sector" emphasises the space that organisations take between "governmental" organisations and "profit" and market organisations.[30] However, they state that "the way such third sector organizations are 'labelled' may have significant implications in terms of who can participate in policy processes and discussion and who can receive funding."[31]

A second step that can help to disentangle the many labels for organisations that make up this third sector and the resulting constraints, is to consider the trends in labelling with respect to geographical and historical differences. Lewis and Kanji argue that many of the labels for organisations that make up the third sector are a result of different cultural, political and historical lines of thinking about NGOs, rather than that they reflect analytical differentiations of organisations.[32] They show that in the UK the common usage of "charity" or voluntary organisation resulted from Christian values on volunteering as well as the formation of charity law. Further, the terms non-profit or not-for-profit, Lewis and Kanji argue, are predominantly used in the US where the existing distinction between business organisations that aim to make profit and organisations who work for the public benefit is a result of the dominance of the market.[33] Thus, it is not surprising that DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly who wrote extensively on organisations and immigrant art in the US use the term non-profit organisations. The term NGO, Lewis and Kanji continue, usually became connected to organisations working internationally or those belonging to "developing" country contexts. The label NGO further designates certain international non-state organisations within the UN Charter from 1945 as consultants in UN activities.[34] In the Netherlands, as in the UK, the organisations are officially considered as "charities" through their so-called ANBI status. Below, I discuss the funding possibilities and constraints that come with this charity status. In fact, as will become clear, in the Netherlands charity status comes with some of the fiscal benefits that Lewis and Kanji associate with the US context. Thus, in the Netherlands charity status could be said to blur boundaries between market and non-market, because the ANBI-status and fiscal benefits are ultimately aimed at stimulating

[30] Lewis and Kanji, *Non-governmental Organizations,* 7-8.
[31] Ibid., 8.
[32] Ibid., 7.
[33] Ibid., 7.
[34] Ibid., 8.

funding by private parties, while at the same time, (cultural) ANBI charities are often funded by government bodies.

FINANCING

The ways in which the organisations are financed depends on a number of factors. The first factor relates to their ANBI status, which brings with it certain tax benefits for both the organisations and their funders. For example, one of the fiscal benefits of ANBI status is that the organizations do not have to pay gift taxes or succession taxes.[35] This system of financing cultural activities through tax-deductible donations was inherited from the United States, where government support of the arts has long been lacking. In fact, the funding system that applies to charities in the Netherlands can be explored by comparing it to the funding models that appear in the US as addressed by DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly in relation to non-profit organisations that aim to stimulate immigrant arts. It ultimately unveils how systems of funding are tied to ideals in cultural policy as well as policy related to refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. To explore the funding of charity organisations in the Netherlands, I first discuss the two models that DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly have outlined and suggest a third model that applies to the European and Dutch context. Then, I look into the ways in which the funding system in the Netherlands relates to (cultural) policy, showing that Dutch cultural policy has a stake in (in)directly funding charity organisations in the Netherlands that have established music projects for and with refugees, asylum seekers and status holders to achieve its own goals. Finally, I go into a number of organisations and funding bodies in more depth to see how the charities are actually funded through a combination of private and government sponsors.

In the US, there is restricted direct government support for arts and culture. There are however, according to DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly, two different institutional systems or models that circumscribe what kind of financing is possible for non-profit organisations. The first system consists of the ways in which mass consumers support and uphold the popular cultural industries through consumption and demand. The second system consists of tax deductions for donors as a form of indirect support that they argue "is generous and bestows immense power on private

[35] To stimulate giving gifts to charity organisations, ANBI status additionally holds a benefit for donators: private individuals can deduct 1,25 percent of their donations from their income taxes, and corporate entities can even deduct 1,5 percent from the donations in their tax return. Belastingdienst, "Algemeen Nut Beoogende Instelling," https://www.belastingdienst.nl/wps/wcm/connect/bldcontentnl/belastingdienst/zakelijk/bijzondere_regelingen/goede_doelen/algemeen_nut_beogende_instellingen/belastingregels_algemeen_nut_beogende_instellingen (accessed May 31, 2019).

philanthropy as opposed to government subsidies."[36] Each of these institutional forms, DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly state, "bears affinities to particular modes of cultural incorporation of immigrant artists into the host society."[37] In other words, these systems of funding partly constrain and aid efforts of non-profit organisations to engage in working with the art of migrants and refugees. The systems, however, also constrain and aid the extent to which governments can stimulate the efforts by non-profit organisations to act out certain policies, including cultural incorporation of migrants. I would suggest that in the Netherlands, and on a European level as well, direct forms of government funding constitute another system of funding that brings with it a particular mode of "cultural incorporation of immigrant artists into the host society."[38]

In the Netherlands, a form of direct and less direct forms of government funding through funding institutions are part of the so-called BIS (cultural basic infrastructure of the Netherlands). The BIS aims to act out cultural policy aims, including the stimulation of cultural diversity and participation, intercultural dialogue and in some particular instances even integration of immigrant arts in a kind of "multicultural" society. The charity organisations that involve music and the arts are partly funded through a form of indirect government funding by means of tax-reducible incomes as explained above. At the same time, the BIS and cultural policy developed at regional and municipality levels afford opportunities for cultural ANBI organisations that specifically involve music and arts such as Orchestre Partout and Catching Cultures Orchestra to apply for government funding. They can do so through the funding bodies of the BIS, as well as by applying for municipality and provincial funding. Thus, the funding system in the Netherlands can be seen as a combination of the systems of private funding and government funding. I will discuss this system in the Netherlands, including the BIS, in more detail below.

The funding system in the Netherlands in which the charities are embedded is tied to cultural policy as well as to policy on refugees, asylum seekers, status holders, and migrants. Other scholars, such as Marco Martiniello, have discussed this connection in cultural policy and charity organisations revolving around artistic activities for and with migrants and refugees as well. Martiniello has suggested a basic framework along five domains to study the importance of arts in policy and theoretical discussions about inclusivity of immigrants, as well as diversity in

[36] DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly, "Immigration and the Arts," 1238.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

cities with migrant, and post-migration populations. In relation to the third domain he mentions, namely local cultural and incorporation policies, he argues that:

> Another important issue is the potential *policy relevance* of arts in migration and post-migration cities. The first idea is to explore the issue of the *representation of diversity* (Vertovec 2009) in national, subnational and local cultural policies: do official cultural institutions support immigrant artists? Are local cultural policies becoming multicultural? How do migrant and *ethniciced* artists moblize in order to change cultural policies? It also seems important to examine to what extent arts are used and could be a useful tool in local incorporation and social cohesion policies. These issues probably do not have the same relevance on both sides of the Atlantic. In many European countries and cities, the state intervenes in culture and arts through complex patterns of cultural and artistic policies, whereas in the USA, the forces of the markets are more important than the state. However, the questions mentioned address the issue of incorporation of migrants from an uncommon perspective that also informs the process by which newcomers become—or do not—full members of a given society.[39]

The quotation addresses the difference between the relations of cultural policy and policy on migrants and refugees in the USA and Europe. It also shows however, that the support of cultural institutions and government institutions is important to explore more fully, especially since they, as will become clear later in this thesis, are major stake holders and actors in the institutional landscape.

In the Netherlands, state funding for arts and culture is arranged through the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (Dutch: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, in short OCW). The funding consists of two types, namely institutional funding and project funding, although the latter is only used "in exceptional cases."[40] The institutional funding is regulated through the earlier mentioned BIS which is decided upon every four years. The BIS divides the total amount of funding over different art forms (such as performance arts which usually receive the bulk of the funding) as well as six funding bodies for specific areas. None of the organizations receive direct government funding through the BIS (as some major symphony orchestras do). However, many, including OP, CCO, and De Vrolijkheid receive funding through funds which are installed by OCW, and specifically through one of those, namely the Cultural Participation Fund (Dutch: Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie, CPF). The latter funding body will be discussed more deeply in the third chapter of this thesis, where the instrumentalisation of culture by charity organisations as well as government institutions will be explored through a case study of CCO and OP. The above account also shows however, that non-government

[39] Marco Martiniello, "Immigrants, *Ethnicized* Minorities and the Arts: A Relatively Neglected Research Area," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38/8 (2015): 1232-1233.
[40] Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, "Cultuursubsidie," "Subsidies en Fondsen," https://www.cultuursubsidie.nl/subsidies (accessed July 1, 2019).

organisations can and do receive funding from governments even though it seems less direct, being funnelled through partners of governments.

Besides cultural funding on the level of the state, the municipalities play a large role in providing funds for some of the organisations as well. For example, CCO has received funding from the municipality of Utrecht and aims to apply for a four-year period of structural funding by the same municipality the coming year. Likewise, OP has received "project" funding by the municipalities of Alkmaar, Heerhugowaard and Amsterdam. To give some indication of the amount that OP has received from the municipality of Amsterdam, in March 2017 it received an amount of 20.000 euro within the subset of Community Art, and the same amount in 2019 under the subset of Music/Music Theatre by the Amsterdam Fund for the Arts (in Dutch: Amsterdams Fonds voor de Kunsten, in short AFK) which is responsible for the allocation of cultural funds of the municipality.[41]

What could additionally be taken into account is the manner in which music theatres, community centres, and established cultural institutions support projects such as CCO or OP, which are performing ensembles. These music theatres and community centres sometimes receive funding from municipalities themselves (such as TivoliVredenburg in Utrecht). Another established cultural institution that invests into musicians with migrant or refugee backgrounds is the Nederlands Blazers Ensemble (NBE) which has collaborated with De Vrolijkheid, Musicians without Borders (usually in the form of benefit concerts, but on their "Tour to the Middle East" played with children and young adults with whom MwB had worked in Aida next to the separation wall), OP, and CCO.[42] Musicians who participated in OP and CCO and in music activities organised by De Vrolijkheid at asylum seekers centres are frequent guest performers at NBE concerts, especially the New Year Concerts. Due to scope, I will not go into the NBE separately. However, NBE does help to illustrate how organisations link to each other and support one another. One example can help point out what kind of opportunities for asylum seekers, refugees, and status holders this can amount to. Jawa and Shaza Manla who respectively play the oud and the qanūn and used to play with OP at the time when the asylum seeker centre in Alkmaar was still open, have been able to play with the NBE on numerous occasions which arguably boosted their musical careers in the Netherlands. At the moment, Jawa Manla studies oud at the Codarts Conservatory in Rotterdam and additionally plays in a number of ensembles,

[41] Amsterdams Fonds voor de Kunsten, "Toekenningen," "Projectsubsidies," https://www.amsterdamsfondsvoordekunst.nl/toekenningen/projectsubsidies/?t=community-art&d= (accessed July 1, 2019)., https://www.amsterdamsfondsvoordekunst.nl/toekenningen/projectsubsidies/page2?t=muziek-muziektheater (accessed July 1, 2019).

[42] See for some footage of the performance at Aida during the NBE tour to the Middle East, YouTube, "NBE tournee Midden-Oosten: deel 5, Bethlehem, Westelijke Jordaanoever," published by NPO Radio 4 on May 8, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mV7m26RFb1w (accessed July 1, 2019).

including Caravan, that are highlighted on music television programmes, such as Podium Witteman. Leaving the feature of funding and charity status for now, I turn to the geographical reach and scale of the organisations which inevitably relates to their funding opportunities as well as the example of municipality funding of OP and CCO show.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND REACH

The organizations can be largely described in terms of geographical span, or the scale on which their musical activities are focused and established, namely internationally, nationally, or locally (see for a quick overview the table below). Below, the separate charity organisations are described along with their geographical location and reach, as well some of their main goals and aims within these locations. It will become clear that often, organisations are active on multiple locations, such as international as well as national, or on different locations within the national borders of the Netherlands. Thus, strict boundaries between international, national, and local, are mainly analytically used here in order to categorise the organisations.

International	**National**	**Local**
Sounds of Change	Vluchtelingenwerk	Orchestre Partout
War Child (I DEAL)	War Child (TeamUp)	Catching Cultures Orchestra
Musicians without Borders (Europe: Welcome Notes) Palestine	Musicians without Borders (Welcome Notes)	
	Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten	
	De Vrolijkheid	
	Zing Nederlands Met Me (franchise like)	

INTERNATIONALLY ORIENTATED ORGANISATIONS

In terms of international scale, the organizations Musicians without Borders, Sounds of Change and War Child are based in the Netherlands, but work across the Dutch border in areas such as Palestine, Jordan, and Greece, besides their occasional work in the Netherlands.

War Child's musical projects are focused in the project "I DEAL" which uses music, theatre and dance and aims to teach children in conflict areas how to deal with stress and regain self-confidence and trust in other people.[43] The Dutch branch of War Child was in fact established in 1992 out of a music therapy angle in the context of the war in former Yugoslavia, but most of its current activities consist predominantly of sports, games and movement activities, such as its project "TeamUp" for refugee children at asylum seeker centres in the Netherlands (in collaboration with UNICEF Netherlands and Save the Children).[44]

Musicians without Borders was established in 1999 by the still-present director Laura Hassler, and according to its website, the first long-term project was the Music Bus which "brought music, dance and theatre to children in Srebrenica and its neighbouring towns and refugee camps."[45] At the moment, according to the website, MwB is active in Kosovo, Palestine, Greece, Northern Ireland, Germany, Rwanda, Uganda, El Salvador, Italy, and the Netherlands.[46] In three of these locations, namely Greece, the Netherlands, and Germany the project "Welcome Notes" takes place, with the three-fold aim to bring "comfort, solidarity, and hope to war refugees through music; build bridges and create solidarity in European communities; provide a safe, fun, and supportive space for artistic expression and cultural exchange."[47] Unfortunately, project leader Anna Rose Swinkels declined an interview due to limited capacity of the team of MwB, as well as the vulnerability of the locations and constituents, and I could only find scraps of information online.[48] Yet, in the context of the Netherlands, MwB states that the project Welcome Notes was a response to the so-called refugee crisis. It included a one-year pilot in 2016 consisting of training weekends for musicians to run their own music lessons and workshops at

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[43] War Child, "I DEAL," https://www.warchild.nl/projecten/i-deal/ (accessed June 21, 2019).
[44] War Child was set up by Willemijn Verloop who, working in Bosnia for a European peace organization in 1992, met up with emeritus professor in music Nigel Osborne in Bosnia where they organized music therapy sessions in a hide-out for children. Back in the Netherlands, Verloop established War Child after which Marco Borsato a popular singer in the Netherlands, became ambassador. See War Child, "Geschiedenis," https://www.warchild.nl/geschiedenis/ (accessed June 21, 2019).
[45] Musicians without Borders, "About us," "History," https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/eng/about-us/about-us/history/ (accessed July 1, 2019).
[46] Musicians without Borders, "Where we Work," https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/eng/our-work/programs/where-we-work/ (accessed April 30, 2019).
[47] Musicians without Borders, "Welcome Notes," https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/eng/our-work/programs/where-we-work/welcome-notes/ (accessed April 30, 2019).
[48] Personal e-mail with Anna Rose Swinkels, April 1, 2019.

asylum seekers centres, and an additional series of training weekends in 2017-2018.[49] Besides the project "Welcome Notes," another running program which consists of multiple activities is "Palestine Community music," which is located in the West Bank since 2008. In collaboration with an organisation Sounds of Palestine (inspired and based on the concepts of El Sistema) MwB provides music workshops and lessons for children in the refugee camps in Aida and al-Azzeh.[50]

Another organisation that is based in the Netherlands, but operating internationally, is Sounds of Change (SoC), founded by Dutch double-bass player Lucas Dols in 2016.[51] Like MwB, they train music leaders, teachers, and aid workers how to use music in their work with people—it seems often specifically focused on children—living in conflict areas and refugee camps in areas including Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, and Greece, but also in countries that "receive" refugees, as the Netherlands and Canada.[52]

NATIONALLY ORIENTATED ORGANISATIONS

Other organizations, such as De Vrolijkheid (whose full name in English is the National Foundation for the Promotion of Happiness, in Dutch Nationale Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vrolijkheid), Vluchtelingenwerk, and Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten (Network Migrant Musicians) are nationally orientated, and their activities take place in the Netherlands. Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten is however different from the two other organisations both in the form that it takes, as well as in terms of size and activities. De Vrolijkheid and Vluchtelingenwerk organise their music projects at refugee centres across the Netherlands. In relation to these two organisations however, another institution, namely the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (*Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers*, in short, COA), comes into play and will briefly be discussed below in relation to De Vrolijkheid.

De Vrolijkheid organizes creative activities, including music, art, theatre, play and games for children and teenagers in asylum-seeker centres in the Netherlands.[53] At the moment, they are active in twenty-four asylum-seeker centres in the Netherlands (see the map in figures 1 and 2

[49] Musicians without Borders, Anna Swinkels, "Connecting Through Music: Music Making in Europe," published December 14, 2018, https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/2018/12/connecting-through-music-music-making-in-europe/ (accessed July 2019); Musicians without Borders, "Our Work," "Where we Work," "Welcome Notes."
[50] Musicians without Borders, "Our Work," "Where we Work," "Palestine Community Music," https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/eng/our-work/programs/where-we-work/palestine/ (accessed June 2 and July 1, 2019); Sounds of Palestine, "About," https://www.soundsofpalestine.org/about/ (accessed July 1, 2019).
[51] Lucas Dols, "Sounds of Change," http://www.lucasdols.nl/32-sounds-of-change (accessed July 1, 2019).
[52] Lucas Dols, "Sounds of Change," "Sounds of Change," "About," http://www.soundsofchange.org/about/manifest (accessed July 1, 2019); Sounds of Change, "About," "Projects," http://www.soundsofchange.org/about/projects (accessed July 1, 2019).
[53] De Vrolijkheid (English webpage), "We bring happiness to children in centers for asylum-seekers," https://vrolijkheid.nl/en/ (accessed May 12, 2019).

below).[54] The organization describes itself as a "multicultural, not-for-profit network of artists, playwrights, actors, musicians, and volunteers," that "with art invests in the development and *empowerment* of children, young adults and their parents in asylum-seekers centres."[55] The statements De Vrolijkheid makes about its goals and work can be seen to relate to both the spaces of its operation, namely asylum-seekers centres governed by the COA, as well as its target group of children and young adults which it partly legitimates in connection to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

COA, whose responsibility is regulated by Dutch law, holds accountability to the secretary of state (currently Ankie Broekers-Knol) of the Ministry of Justice and Security.[56] COA is responsible for the housing of asylum seekers, in other words for the asylum seeker centres (*asielzoekers centra*, in short azc) as well as for the guiding of asylum applications. The institution is an important body, sometimes even partner, in relation to multiple charity organizations that I discuss in this thesis, including Orchestre Partout and Catching Cultures Orchestra.

The spaces where De Vrolijkheid holds its activities are thus provided by the COA at COA's asylum-seekers centres and as a consequence, COA is an important actor in the organisational landscape. To illustrate this in relation to De Vrolijkheid, in February 2016, Dorien Marres (member of the board of De Vrolijkheid) and Janet Helder (member of the board of COA) signed a "statement of intention to cooperate" [Dutch: intentieverklaring to samenwerken] to continue their collaboration.[57] According to the COA, this collaboration is a win-win situation, because both organisations have the ambition to involve residents of asylum seeker centres in running activities themselves, partly because they are more aware of what the children experience.[58] At the same time however, the spaces of the asylum seeker centres (which are governed by COA) regularly pop up in relation to the goals of De Vrolijkheid. According to De Vrolijkheid, the COA mentions in the statement of cooperation that it values the work of De Vrolijkheid because amongst other things, De Vrolijkheid gives substance to Article 39 of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child.[59] Here, the spatiality of the asylum-seekers centres, as well as the often long and insecure asylum procedure that recurrently involves moving around, is

[54] The map shows twenty-five locations, but the addresses below the map on the website show that De Vrolijkheid is temporarily not active at the asylum-seekers centrum in Wageningen. De Vrolijkheid, "Wat we doen," "Waar we werken," https://vrolijkheid.nl/wat-we-doen/waar-werken-we/ (accessed May 12, 2019).
[55] Freely translated by author, original emphasis. De Vrolijkheid, "Wie wij zijn," "Organisatie," https://vrolijkheid.nl/wie-we-zijn/organisatie/ (accessed May 12, 2019), and De Vrolijkheid, "We bring happiness," (accessed May 12, 2019).
[56] COA, "Over COA," https://www.coa.nl/nl/over-coa (accessed June 19, 2019).
[57] COA, "Samenwerking met de Vrolijkheid," published February 3, 2016, https://www.coa.nl/nl/actueel/nieuws/samenwerking-met-de-vrolijkheid (accessed May 13, 2019).
[58] COA, "Samenwerken met de Vrolijkheid," (accessed May 13, 2019).
[59] De Vrolijkheid, "Samenwerking met COA," https://vrolijkheid.nl/wie-we-zijn/samenwerkingspartners/samenwerking-met-coa/ (accessed May 13, 2019).

repeatedly described as a "no-man's land" that "is a serious threat to the psychosocial health of these young newly arrived."[60] I will return to the spatiality of asylum seeker centres more fully in chapter 2 in relation to the activities of Orchestre Partout, for which COA also has arranged spaces for rehearsing and music lessons which are oftentimes shared with De Vrolijkheid.

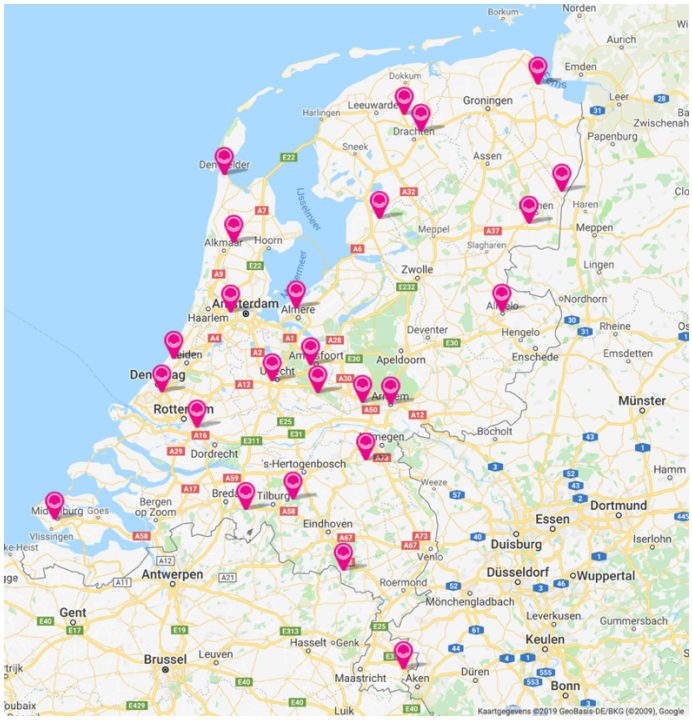

FIGURE 1 MAP OF AZC LOCATIONS WHERE STICHTING DE VROLIJKHEID IS ACTIVE IN MAY 2019. TAKEN FROM DE VROLIJKHEID, "WAT WE DOEN," "WAAR WE WERKEN," HTTPS://VROLIJKHEID.NL/WAT-WE-DOEN/WAAR-WERKEN-WE/ (ACCESSED MAY 12, 2019).

[60] De Vrolijkheid, "Kinderen en jongeren op het azc," https://vrolijkheid.nl/wie-we-zijn/kinderen-en-jongeren-op-het-azc/ (accessed May 13, 2019), see also De Vrolijkheid, Jaarverslag 2013, 4. Available through: https://vrolijkheid.nl/media/1017/vrolijkheid_jaarverslag_2013.pdf (accessed May 13, 2019).

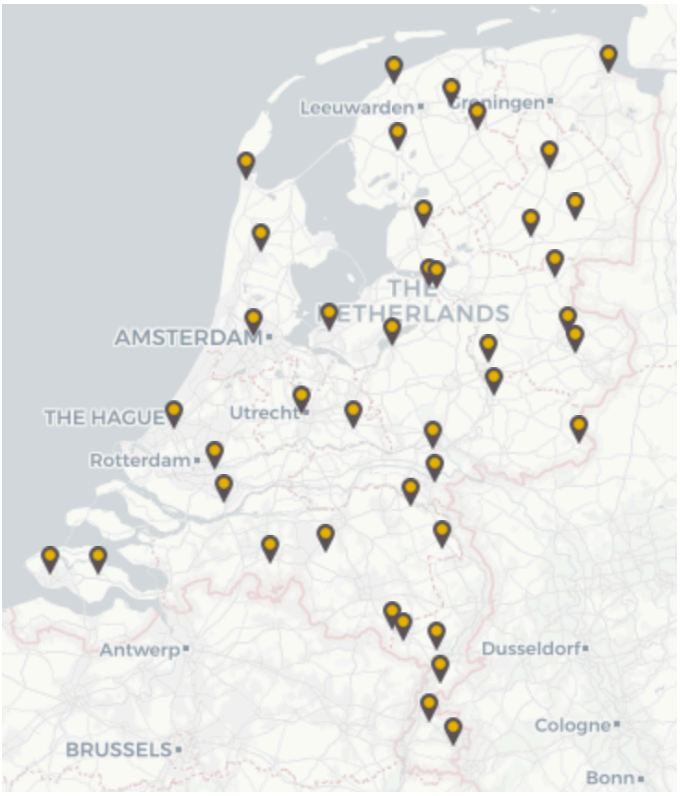

FIGURE 2 LOCATIONS OF COA ASYLUM SEEKERS CENTRES MAY 2019 (SELECTED ON "ASYLUM SEEKERS CENTRES"). TAKEN FROM COA, "LOCATIONS," HTTPS://WWW.COA.NL/EN/SEARCH-LOCATION (ACCESSED MAY 12, 2019).

Like De Vrolijkheid, Vluchtelingenwerk (in English: Dutch Refugee Council) also works in asylum seekers centres, but its music activities can best be described as just a small part of what its overall work entails. It is an important partner of the state in relation to refugees and migrants, because it gives assistance and advises refugees and asylum seekers about their asylum procedure, finding work, family reunion, the naturalisation and integration process, and organizes language lessons, education, and assists minors and children. While Vluchtelingenwerk initially responded to my request to have an interview, there was no follow-up on their side perhaps because they just started a new project that consisted of music lessons at asylum seeker centres. I have not been able to find much about the kind of music activities, the kinds of lessons, or how frequently they occur.

Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten can additionally be viewed as more nationally "located": it is a loose and small organization predominantly led by (now retired) booking agent Crispijn Oomes with the aim to establish a network of contacts between professional and semi-professional musicians, agents, performance venues and contractors. Its form takes the shape of an open source platform or network rather than being attached to any physical place. The

network is mainly upheld through the website and the Facebook page and through Oomes who works as booking agent within the network as well. The Network aims to connect refugees or migrants that are musicians to each other as well as to Dutch musicians and promote bands and musicians, concerts, CDs, or the music of these musicians by posting videos on their website and Facebook. In the wordings of the organization, it is "a loosely-knit partnership between a number of organizations and private individuals."[61] The core goal of the Network is helping musicians with a refugee background in finding work as musician in the Netherlands.[62] Formally, the Network is established in 2016 during a meeting at which many representatives of other organisations were present, including of MwB, De Vrolijkheid, COA, World Music Forum, and CCO (Roelof Wittink) amongst others.[63]

Oomes' current booking agency is called De Speelman (more or less translatable as The Minstrel), and many of the contacts he established for his own booking agency are part of the connections constituting the Network and vice versa. Additionally, during an interview with me he stated that through these contacts, he was able to establish three or four bands made up of musicians with a refugee background, including the Ornina Ensemble, Qasyoun Trio (or Duo depending on whether oud-player Jawa and qanun-player Shaza Manla mentioned above, are accompanied by a third musician often a percussionist, including Modar Salama whom I interviewed in relation to OP), and Orchestre Al Jamal, of which he is also part as violinist.[64] Much of the current potential of the Network thus resides in its maintaining and searching for new contacts for musicians with organizations and other musicians, opportunities for performances and work, which occasionally bring into being ensembles or bands.

LOCALLY ORIENTATED ORGANISATIONS WITHIN THE NETHERLANDS

A further geographical distinction can be made in relation to more locally established charity organisations. While there are numerous locally orientated organisations, I have chosen to focus in this thesis on Orchestre Partout (OP) and Catching Cultures Orchestra (CCO). Both ensembles already came up in the above section on nationally orientated organisations, but in

[61] Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, "Doel/Objectives," http://www.migrantenmuzikanten.nl/423362137 (accessed April 24, 2019).
[62] Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, "Doel/Objectives."
[63] Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, "Geschiedenis/History." http://www.migrantenmuzikanten.nl/423439627 (accessed April 24, 2019).
[64] Crispijn Oomes (active within Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, booking agent De Speelman), interview with author held on April 25, 2019 in Zutphen; Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, "Nuttige Links/Useful," http://www.migrantenmuzikanten.nl/423439949 (accessed April 29, 2019).

comparison to De Vrolijkheid in relation to which they were discussed, OP and CCO are based at just two to three locations. OP organises its music activities, consisting of music lessons and their band rehearsals, in the three asylum seeker centres of Amsterdam, Heerhugowaard, and Dronten which are locations managed by COA. CCO mostly focusses its activities on two neighbourhoods in Utrecht, namely Oog in Al in Utrecht West and Utrecht Overvecht. In Oog in Al, the COA asylum seeker centre is located with which CCO has worked with too. These two organizations further distinguish themselves from the above-mentioned organizations as performing ensembles, consisting of both Dutch musicians and asylum seekers, refugees, and status holders. They mostly perform in the western and central parts of the Netherlands. OP and CCO will be addressed in depth in the rest of the chapters of this thesis. Specifically, in chapter two the issue of location and space will be taken up again in relation to OP and CCO's efforts to build communities around them.

TARGET GROUPS

Another feature that can help to categorise the charity organisations that organise music projects for and with refugees, is by looking at the kind of groups that they target. In this characteristic, I distinguish between two types of target groups, taking it for granted that all the organisations at least partly focus on asylum seekers, refugees, and status holders. The first subset in target groups consists of children, teenagers and young adults, and/or those that focus on adult refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. The second subset of target groups that I identified is a focus on non-musicians, amateur musicians, or (semi-)professional musicians. Both of these target groups have been helpfully discussed by Kathryn Marsh her research in Sydney, Australia, on the how musical play, as well as music and dance activities and performances of a youth group helps children in the process of social inclusion within their "host" and "home" cultures.[65] After a discussion of Marsh's application of Thomas Turino's concepts of participatory performance and presentational performance, I briefly point out which organisation focusses on which target group.[66]

In her research, Marsh analysed the Sierra Leone Youth Group and an Intensive English

[65] Kathryn Marsh, "Music, Social Justice, and Social Inclusion: The Role of Collaborative Music Activities in Supporting Young Refugees and Newly Arrived Immigrants in Australia," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Justice in Music Education*, edited by Cathy Benedict, Patrick Schmidt, Gary Spruce, and Paul Woodford, 173-190 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[66] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 26-28, 53.

centre secondary school for newly arrived students in Sydney in Australia. Her study is informative, because she pays much attention to the in-group dynamics of the youth group in which some participants were more marginalised than others, and points out that in the end, performances helped the youth acquire a sense of achievement, as well as acceptance of these more marginalised participants, among other positive outcomes. She additionally shows that the values and ideas about what the focus of the group should be started to shift when the group was rehearsing for a performance.

Her use of Turino's concepts of participatory performance and presentational performance is especially useful as starting point to discuss different target groups in relation to goals of the music activity. She points out how the youths themselves, their parents, and the organisers, held different values with respect to presenting skills and excellence, or the participatory aspects of the group where matching experience levels were seen as more important than excelling.[67] These differing values resulted in tensions about the focus of the group when it shifted from social to performative. Marsh therefore cautions that music educators in projects like these, should "walk a fine line in ensuring that both sets of values, approached from the viewpoints of all participants, can be accommodated."[68] This shows that the choice of organisations to either focus on participatory performance and/or presentational performance can have consequences for in-group dynamics, as well as demands made in regards to skills of the participants.

Marsh's insights, which comes from the perspectives of music education or community music research, are helpful to further distinguish the kinds of music activities that are organised specifically for children and teenagers. Here, I briefly sketch which organisations focus on which age category. Most of the organizations holding their music activities in the Netherlands actually focus on adults with the exception of De Vrolijkheid—which focusses on children, teenagers, and young-adults—and Vluchtelingenwerk which focusses on both children and adults. To give one example of a statement about children as a target group, De Vrolijkheid draws attention to the International Covenant for the Rights of Children, and how it fills a gap of the Dutch government in its dealings with refugee and asylum seeker children:

> Our target group was, and still is a blind spot for public and private institutions both in terms of refugee-policies and in terms of working for asylum-seekers or children and teenagers. While the children and

[67] Marsh, "Music, Social Justice, and Social Inclusion," 181-182.
[68] Ibid., 186.

> teenagers of Happiness are mentioned in the International Covenant for the rights of Children, they do not 'fit' into any mandate of the Dutch government.[69]

Of the internationally orientated organisations, War Child Netherlands specifically focusses on children in conflict areas. For example, the project I DEAL, which uses music, theatre and dance to boost children's self-esteem and help process traumatic experiences, expands toward projects like Parent DEAL and She DEALS, to not only help children in communities living in conflict areas but also their caretakers.[70] MwB and SoC additionally are aimed on providing trainings for music workshop leaders to teach their methods for leading music workshops for children, as well as adults. An analysis of the specific internal dynamics of these organisations requires much more research and falls outside the scope of this thesis.

A second way in which Turino's concepts can be applied concerns how organisations can be seen to focus on people with no musical experience, amateur musicians, or (semi-)professional musicians. The performing organisations, namely OP, CCO, and Oomes' booking agency that works through the Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten too, are directed towards attracting musicians with a certain level of skill. This can be illustrated through OP's division between band rehearsals and music lessons at the asylum seeker centres, about which Van Leeuwen said that the latter are open to attend and he does not conduct checks on presence. On the other hand, the band rehearsals are focussed at developing and practicing repertoire to perform on stage which does require a level of musical skill and discipline, meaning that Van Leeuwen in this case prefers to know if the musicians are unable to attend.[71] In the case of CCO, which holds weekly rehearsals at community centre Het Wilde Westen, there is no official audition required but a more informal one takes place: musicians that join the rehearsals for the first time are asked to play something which is an (informal) assessment of their musical skills and abilities. Thus, both CCO and OP value to a large extent in Turino's terms presentational performance.

MUSICAL ACTIVITIES, TRADITIONS AND GENRES

In terms of differences between musical activities that the organisations establish for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders, at least two different aspects can be distinguished. The first regards the kinds of music activities organised by the charities, which include amongst others one or a combination of the following: providing music lessons, the stimulation of the performing

[69] De Vrolijkheid (Engl. webpage), "We bring Happiness," (accessed May 13, 2019).
[70] War Child, "I DEAL," https://www.warchild.nl/projecten/i-deal/ (accessed July 6, 2019).
[71] Van Leeuwen, interview with author, 45.

careers of musicians as well as establishing performing ensembles, and providing trainings for music workshop leaders for leading music workshops for refugees, asylum seekers, or other target groups. The second difference that can be distinguished, is the kind of musical tradition and genre that the organisations have chosen to use in their activities.

In what follows, I will go deeper into this second aspect, and into the choices about music traditions and genres that the organisations have made. I first consider the strategies and reasoning behind musical choices of organisations in so far as I have been able to find information about these choices. Thereafter, I pay additional attention to the musical practices and dynamics within the ensembles of CCO and OP.

ORGANISATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR MAKING MUSICAL CHOICES

Most of the charities that organise music activities for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders stand behind the musical choice to play or use either western (popular) music traditions, the music traditions of the refugees and asylum seekers that they are working with, or a combination of these in their activities. From an organisational perspective, DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly have additionally drawn attention to this difficult choice they see non-profit organisations face. They discuss these choices in terms of "authentic" music traditions or "hybrid" and evolving music traditions. More specifically, DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly argue that institutions involved in arts of immigrants face the challenge of choosing between performing "authenticity" and "purity" of the (musical) traditions of the immigrants, or treat art "as a living, evolving force, continuously absorbing elements and, in turn, influencing the arts of the host society."[72] However, what art or which aspects of art (music genres and traditions) count as "authentic" are contested and are additionally entangled in power structures, an aspect that is also pointed out by DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly.[73] In relation to the production and consumption of "world music," Timothy Taylor and others have shown for example that "authenticity" and even "hybridity as a new kind of authenticity" in the world music industry often comes with exoticisation and orientalisation of the artists and musics that are seen as musics of the Other.[74]

To account for the reason why organisations tend to choose one over the other, DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly suggest that the choice depends on whether an organisation is commercially orientated or not. They argue that non-profit venues and galleries "tend to select

[72] DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly, "Immigration and the Arts: A Theoretical Inquiry," 1237.
[73] Ibid.
[74] See Timothy Taylor, "Some Versions of Difference: Discourses of Hybridity in Transnational Musics," in *Beyond Exoticism: Western Musics and the World*, 140-160 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

artists with a commitment to purity, and place constraints on their ability to deviate from communal understandings of authenticity."[75] According to them, commercially orientated organisations in the US seem to choose for the second perspective on art and music and place less emphasis on maintaining "authenticity" or may even stimulate "artists to venture outside the enclave market, so long as they can benefit through commissions and management fees."[76] However, as will become clear below in the discussion of some of the musical choices the charities in the Netherlands made, non-profits do not always tend to choose for an "authentic" music tradition. This suggests that there is an additional set of reasoning that may account for the choice between "authentic" music of the refugees and asylum seekers themselves, a "hybrid" and transforming music, western (popular) music tradition or a combination of both. I would argue that it depends as much, or perhaps even more so on the kind of social goals that the organisations have writ large. Musicologists like Baily and Collyer, and Reyes have drawn attention to this connection between the musical choices and the social aspects as well. They have argued that playing traditional music and music that incorporates elements of host societies for example can also function to assert a certain group identity or facilitate more (mutual) understanding towards host audiences.[77]

Additionally, DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly do not point to other choices in music that organisations can make, such as western classical music, and (western) popular music (which could well be heard and considered "authentic" in host countries). Organisations such as El Sistema as well as the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra have received scholarly critique for their use of western classical music in their efforts to socially transform and improve social conditions and opportunities, or relations between communities from conflict areas. [78] Drawing on Walter Mignolo, Elaine Sandoval in her discussion of the curriculum of music education used for peacebuilding for example points out that aesthetic norms and hierarchies about western classical music have historically been established through colonialism, and upholding these structures would reiterate and reinstall these inequalities and thus do cultural and structural violence to those that are educated.[79] Thus, the choices about what music is used and presented as well as

[75] DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly, "Immigration and the Arts: A Theoretical Inquiry," 1240.
[76] Ibid.
[77] John Baily and Michael Collyer, "Introduction: Music and Migration," Special issue Music and Migration, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32/2 (2006): 174-176.
[78] See Baker, *El Sistema.,* Rachel Beckles Willson, "The Parallax Worlds of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* (2009): 319-347.
[79] Elaine Sandoval, "Potential Contributions of Music Education to Peacebuilding: Curricular Concerns," *Journal of Peace Education* (2016): 242-243. For accounts of how European music was part of colonial (civilization) missions to which Rachel Beckles Willson draws attention too in her discussion on musical missions to Palestine, as well as relations to imperialism, see for example Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Olivia Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and*

how both the music and the musicians are represented is very important but also a complex matter to consider.

MUSICAL CHOICES REGARDING TRADITIONS AND GENRES OF CHARITIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

I have been able to find out what kind of musical choices the organisations have made in a few instances, mainly of those that I have interviewed organisers from, including Niels de Groot who is the music coordinator at De Vrolijkheid, Oomes from Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, and OP and CCO both through interviews, material of performances (online), and through visiting the rehearsals. Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten predominantly focusses on the musical traditions of the migrants themselves which is for a large part the result of his personal and professional interest of his booking agency, which revolved around "world music." What kind of music SoC, MwB, War Child, and Vluchtelingenwerk use in their activities is less clear, although body percussion seems to be used often by MwB in their trainings of music workshop leaders.

One organisation that I have not discussed so much yet is Zing Nederlands met Me (Sing Dutch with me), which as becomes obvious from the name, focusses on Dutch (popular songs and so-called smartlappen) songs around a theme, such as Father's Day and Dancing so as to help learn the Dutch language more quickly. According to the website of Paradiso, the popular music performance hall in Amsterdam which frequently hosts free Zing Nederlands met Me events (about one session every one or two months), the concept was originally developed by the concert hall Ancienne Belgique in Brussels in collaboration with Theater van A tot Z (Theatre from A to Z).[80] Yet, the organisation is a bit difficult to pinpoint, as it is picked up, seemingly in a sort of franchise manner, in cities and towns all over the Netherlands where Zing Nederlands met Me events are hosted at public libraries and community centres. It does not specifically focus on refugees and asylum seekers per se, but on people that want to learn Dutch more broadly. Thus, at Paradiso they ask that Dutch people bring at least one non-native speaker since the event is focused on helping people to learn the language.[81] Zing Nederlands met Me thus functions as an organisation that has chosen not for "authenticity," or "purity," of the music and arts of their target group (i.e. migrants, asylum seekers, refugees), but for western Dutch music,

its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000); Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (eds.), *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

[80] Under the name of "De Gelukkig Zijn Sessies" (more or less translatable as "The Being Happy Sessions"). Paradiso, "Zing Nederlands met Me," https://www.paradiso.nl/nl/programma/zing-nederlands-met-me/58510/ (accessed July 3, 2019).

[81] Paradiso, "Zing Nederlands met Me," https://www.paradiso.nl/nl/programma/zing-nederlands-met-me/58510/ (accessed July 3, 2019).

because of its goal to help their target group learn the Dutch language (and perhaps culture).

Niels de Groot, music coordinator of De Vrolijkheid, said that overall, the music genres that they use in their weekly workshops and music lessons is quite mixed and diverse. On a side-note: music is the only creative form for which they have a separate national coordinator, illustrating the importance of music in the overall activities of De Vrolijkheid. The music ranges from music that have some cultural connections to the residents at the asylum seeker centres, in other words music that is familiar to the residents (what DiMaggio and Fernández might describe as "authentic" music), to Dutch popular music that young children grow up with in the Netherlands and that children from asylum seeker centres hear for example at school, such as Kinderen voor Kinderen. In some projects the children and teenagers write their own music including hip hop and rap songs.[82] The musical choices made at De Vrolijkheid additionally depend on the choices of local program coordinators of the music activities at specific asylum seeker centres. De Groot mentioned that De Vrolijkheid has guiding principles called the 5 V's: Vrolijkheid (Happiness), Verhaal (Story), Safety (Veiligheid), Vertrouwen (Trust), and Veerkracht (Flexibility), but that beyond that, local program coordinators are left free to fill in their own program and style.[83] One example of this are the two case studies of this thesis, OP and CCO. De Vrolijkheid played an important part in the establishment of Orchestre Partout at the end of 2010 before it became an independent organisation (in 2016), by funding the project in its earlier years as well as sharing of (rehearsal) space and instruments. One of the band leaders of OP in Alkmaar, Lex Pantelic, still works with De Vrolijkheid, said De Groot. CCO initially started out as a collaboration between a fanfare band based in Utrecht, Orkest De Tegenwind, and a band that was based on the format of OP and crowd funded by De Vrolijkheid, namely Band zonder Verblijfsvergunning (Band without a Residence Permit) led since its establishment by Jonas Bisquert. Some of the participants in Band zonder Verblijfsvergunning, such as oud player and singer Mohamad Alsamna, as well as a large portion of the brass players of De Tegenwind continued to play in CCO and De Tegenwind's conductor Hermine Schneider conducts CCO till this day.

Since CCO and OP in this sense share a similar founding process, it does not come as a surprise that their musical choices and practices are quite alike. Both orchestras ask the musicians with a refugee background to bring in music they wish to play and continue to work with that song through the addition of western harmony and/or chord progressions, as well as input from the other musicians from Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. During the rehearsals the members

[82] Niels de Groot, interview with author, 83.
[83] De Groot, interview with author, 71, (73).

with a refugee background either show the music they wish to play on YouTube or play it for the group themselves. The other musicians then start to play along for example if they recognize the music, improvise along, or are guided by Ted van Leeuwen or Hermine Schneider. The repertoire seems to consist mostly of popular, classical or broadly known traditional music, and much of the overlap between the repertoire of CCO and OP amounts to Arabic music, such as songs by Fairuz and Umm Kulthūm, and the songs "Lamma Bada Yatathanna," and "Fog El-Nakhel."

In the case of CCO, Schneider picks up the melody as well and provides the brass players of De Tegenwind with harmonies and melody lines, and the bass guitarist with ideas for bass lines. Schneider ultimately writes arrangements for the members of Orkest De Tegenwind, but usually not for the other members of the orchestra with a refugee background. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to acquire these scores, but in the appendix, I provide a list of songs both by CCO and OP that I have been able to recognize. In the case of OP, Van Leeuwen made extensive use of chords and chord progressions during the lesson and rehearsal I attended, which he also teaches to the musicians playing guitars (provided by either OP, or Happiness). The chord progressions with an occasional melody, that Van Leeuwen and Lex Pantelic (sometimes a professional arranger) write out, are freely available on the website of OP with some examples of the music as well.[84] These musical practices eventually result in not so much an "authentic" performance of the music as DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly have alluded to, but a kind of cross over through diversity of instrumentation and musical input of musicians trained in different musical cultures, and the added western harmonization. I am using the term cross over rather than "hybrid," since the songs are still very much recognizable, and this is I think part of the goals of both OP and CCO: "authenticity" but translated in a way to be more understandable and performable on a diverse instrumentation and by people with diverse musical backgrounds within the bands, and perhaps more understandable to (host) audiences. Furthermore, both Wittink and Van Leeuwen stated they only play music which has become part of the repertoire if the person who suggested the music is present, or if there is a person present in the ensemble who "represents" that repertoire; "at least has something to do with it."[85] This might point to a kind of authenticity the music is meant to have, as well as cultural ownership.[86] Another commonality that I will discuss in the third chapter in connection to the instrumentalisation of culture, is that both Wittink and Van Leeuwen, when asked about their personal reasons for

[84] Orchestre Partout, "Music," "Our Music," http://orchestrepartout.nl/music/ (accessed June 12, 2019).
[85] Van Leeuwen, interview with author, (35-39).
[86] The idea of cultural ownership in relation to this "representation" of a musical tradition or genre was suggested to me by my thesis supervisor, Dr. Rebekah Ahrendt.

getting involved with such a music project, both mentioned musical curiosity and social concern, albeit in different measures.

LABELLING

The use of categories and labels such as asylum seeker, refugee, status holder, by the charity organisations is as inevitable as the use of these labels in academic research, media, and policy discourse. However, these labels are not neutral categories, but have consequences for the kind of work that the organisations (intend to) do. Moreover, labels draw boundaries between people through assigning different kinds of identities which has particular consequences for the people who are ascribed certain identities with which they may not self-identify and for the way in which people are represented. Below, I first introduce Roger Zetter's theory about labelling practices of humanitarian aid organisations which has been important in the field of refugee studies and a resource for me as well. Then I look into some of the labelling practices of the charity organisations in the Netherlands, including De Vrolijkheid, OP and CCO, MwB and Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten. This discussion shows how these organisations have different strategies in relation to labelling.

To discuss and analyse labelling practices of non-government organisations and specifically the organisations that form the topic of this thesis, Roger Zetter's framework about labelling is especially helpful. Zetter has proposed to use the concept of labelling as an analytical tool to "examine how labels are created and applied, [so] we can better understand how patterns of social life and cultural norms, straining under the intense pressure of forced displacement, are mediated, impacted and ultimately controlled and reformed by institutional agency."[87] His framework to analyse how labels are created and applied, consists of examining three axes, namely how labels are formed, transformed, and politicised. He argued that labels are not only used to describe different kinds of identities in what Wood calls "convenient images," but that through institutional practices and bureaucratic processes institutions also form and transform labels of identity which are not always congruent with how the people assigned these labels define themselves.[88]

This incongruence has consequences for the distribution of aid which is delivered to people who have been assigned certain bureaucratic identities (such as defining who is in more

[87] Roger Zetter, "More Labels, Fewer Refugees," 173.
[88] In Zetter's earlier work, he thus focused on the interplay of institutional forming and transforming of identities, and the responses of refugees.

need than others, which is hugely problematic). This implicates that labels become powerful tools through which humanitarian aid distribution and assistance is managed, and how this can have "such disempowering and controlling consequences and why refugee dependency (both imposed and learned) went hand in hand with autonomy and expressions of ingratitude which challenged the humanitarian precepts of altruism and charity."[89] Zetter specifically chose for using the concept "label" in his framework rather than "category" or "designation," or "case," because "the word 'label' better nuances an understanding which: recognizes both a process of identification and a mark of identity; implies something independently applied but also something which can be chosen and amended; has a tangible and real world meaning, but is also metaphorical and symbolic."[90]

In the labelling processes of the organisations that I have spoken with, namely OP, CCO, De Vrolijkheid and Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, two important things stood out. First, I found that many organisers struggled with choosing and using labels. In addition, they adapted their usages to certain contexts, for example using the labels refugees and asylum seekers in the contexts of applying for funding, while bypassing (or in Zetter's term "fractioning") the label when used within their daily activities. I will call this dilemma a "labelling paradox," because many organisers described this as a struggle or wrestling with labels. Second, the academic and politized societal debate about the terms "migrant" versus "refugee" can be seen reflected in choices in labelling. I will go deeper into these points below.

First, it seems that at the core, the organisational focus on refugees (either children, teenagers, or adults), status holders and asylum seekers result in what could be called a labelling paradox. The constituency of the organisations is in many cases their "unique selling point" towards funders and audiences as Ted van Leeuwen put it. They mean to ultimately empower marginalized communities through their work, but the process of labelling people refugees and asylum seekers is a dilemma since the very label conjures up (politicised) representations of refugees as victims and Others, as marginalised, and in some cases even criminalised. Thus, the politicization of the labels refugee and asylum seeker and the manners in which these people are represented potentially marginalises the very people they aim to empower through the process of assigning them an identity with a label.

The organisers seemed to recognize this dynamic of a labelling paradox as became clear through their answers to my interview question on how they used terms like "refugee," "asylum seeker," and "status holder." Van Leeuwen, De Groot, Wittink, and Oomes, answered that they

[89] Zetter, "More Labels, Fewer Refugees," 173
[90] Ibid.

"struggled" or wrestled with these labels, and consequently have chosen different strategies that are context dependent: bypassing labels like refugee in their direct work with their constituencies, but also explicitly working with these labels towards funders. These strategic responses of the organisers could be understood as, in Zetter's terms, a "fractioning" of the label of refugee. Zetter showed that the label asylum seeker for example, is a fractioning of the label refugee. In this sense, organisers further fractioned labels in ways that partly depended on where they were located and active or used other already existent fractions of the label. For example, De Vrolijkheid chooses to predominantly work with the label "residents" rather than "asylum seeker" or "refugee," and Ted van Leeuwen from OP mentioned that besides "residents," "participants" is often used, since not all participants reside at the centres where OP is active.[91] Crispijn Oomes chose to use the term "migrant" in his organisation titled Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, and the label of "migrant musicians." According to Roelof Wittink, CCO mainly chose to use "newly arrived."

Niels de Groot from De Vrolijkheid, for example, put it in the following way when I asked him how he deals with terms like refugee, asylum seeker and status holder in the organisation:

> We actually continuously struggle to use these terms as least as possible. So ehm, yes, it is very tricky, right? So sometimes you notice that you use these words anyway because people use these words all the time. We always speak of residents actually, asylum seeker centre residents but well that is... That is because we work with people living in a centre. We also work, like I said before with a lot of people with a flight story [who work in the organisation itself] so I find it very important to not always… I find it very risky to reduce people to refugee, because it is one, one of the aspects of your identity, that happened. Ehm, so yes, that is a continuous conversation it is of course very tricky… our work finds itself in a very sensitive political context, so you have to, you work with very different parties who have different interests and different ideas about the how and what. […]
>
> We are at these centres because we simply believe that they are people who are in different circumstances but just as us have stories, talents. And too… if you continuously emphasise as if they are 'different' than you, then there is no basis on which you can easily work together. So yes, this distance at the moment that you, we, want to do something in a fun and on a free and easy way then it is of course very difficult if you keep this distance by using these terms all the time. And I also think that if you work on a centre like that you notice what that negative terminology does to the people who live there.[92]

He continued to say that during the workshop or activity, you do not think about these terms since it does not matter in that moment. Yet, both Niels de Groot and OP expressed that towards potential funders, the organisations resort again to the terms "refugees" and "asylum

[91] Van Leeuwen, interview with author, 53.
[92] Niels de Groot, interview with author, 79, (79).

seekers." Van Leeuwen mentioned that toward funders they state that OP can potentially drive away boredom and develops the talents of "refugees" and "asylum seekers." De Groot said to me that in attempts to bypass terms like refugees and asylum seekers, funders became confused about what the activities were about and what they meant to achieve. Thus, labels like refugee and asylum seeker are indeed, as Van Leeuwen mentioned, the organisation's "unique selling point." Yet in attempts to reconfigure the labels both within the project and towards other organisations and funders, they end up bumping against the walls of the larger societal and political use and the (bureaucratic) processes of labelling refugees and asylum seekers, ending up in a circle, because fractioning of labels like refugee and asylum seeker do not necessarily resolve the tensions of the institutional labelling.

Underlying the difficulty the organisations have with labelling is a temporal aspect inherent within labels such as refugee, migrant, and asylum seeker, expressed by Wittink from CCO in the following ways:

> [We] aim to help newly arrived, [but] we do not exclude anything, because Pelin who joined and is from Turkey, and does not have a flight per se, but eh so if also that kind of people want to play along, very welcome. So we have a special role for refugees, but you do not want to say to these people all the time that they are refugees, because yes… they are newly arrived, at a certain moment they are Dutch, and so forth, so we wrestle with this terminology a little bit.[93]

His response to this wrestling with labels was partly to resort to using the binary terms autochthone and allochthone to describe the different members of the orchestra, noting that musicians from both categories have differing musical backgrounds (jazz, world-music like, harmony). The terms autochthone and allochthone were commonly used in the Netherlands by government bodies and in society more broadly to respectively distinguish between native and non-native Dutch.[94] Recently however, a debate about the racialisation that is inherent in these terms has made their use come to be seen as political, but they are still commonly used in society.

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[93] Wittink, interview with author, (20).

[94] The term "allochtoon" is used to distinguish between Dutch "natives" and people who migrated to the Netherlands, and their children up to a certain generation. In relation to the Othering of refugees in the Netherlands, terms like "allochtoon" and "autochtoon" are interwoven with a larger debate on multiculturalism and migration. In 2016, the WRR (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, Eng. The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy) and the CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Eng. Statistics Netherlands) advised that the terms "allochtoon" and "authtoon" are no longer suitable terms to discuss integration and immigration. Yet, they continue to be used in every day speech and the WWR and CBS did not suggest replacements for these terms, but instead the CBS states that when the need for distinction arises, the description "persons with a Dutch or a migration background" will be used. This in effect means that the content of the categories is in a sense still maintained, even when it is used without the earlier generational specification which held that the first and second generations of migrants would have been termed "allochtoon." WRR, "De Termen 'allochtoon en autochtoon' hebben hun tijd gehad," News item published November 1, 2016, https://www.wrr.nl/actueel/nieuws/2016/11/01/de-termen-'allochtoon-en-autochtoon'-hebben-hun-tijd-gehad (accessed July 2, 2019).

The quote above however, points to the aspect of time and *shifting* statuses over the course from arriving in the Netherlands to permanent residency. The boundaries between these kinds of identities is troubling Wittink most in CCO's usage of labels. In legal terms, this would amount to a shift in status from asylum seeker to (internationally recognised) "refugee," to acquiring a (permanent) residency status, to eventual naturalisation to Dutch citizenship while through all of these identities, as Gloria Wekker for example pointed out, there is a racial apparatus at work; even when one acquires Dutch citizenship, the use of labels such as allochthone and autochthone, as well as "status holder" maintain boundaries between people.[95]

Besides this tension of the labelling paradox and the responses of the organisations by fractioning the labels refugee and asylum seeker in different circumstances, there is the second tension resulting from labelling that mirrors the debate around the labels "migrant" and "refugee," specifically in relation to the Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten. Oomes choose for "migrant" since he believes that migration is from all times and has always been there and will always be there, and thus that it is in this sense rather a neutral term. Moreover, he stated that he had trouble with drawing boundaries between when you are refugee/migrant and when are you not any longer. Yet, he told me he had received the following criticism from Laura Hassler from MwB through an e-mail (who was also present during the meeting at which the Network was established): "A 'migrant' is someone who moves from his/her birth country to a different country, often times looking for a better future. A 'refugee' is someone who flees war or persecution. Refugees have (international) rights for protection, asylum, etc. Migrants have not, unless they can prove themselves 'refugee.' So for politicians (and media) using the term 'migrant' contributes to the opportunities to not grant people rights."[96] Thus, Hassler and probably in extension MwB uses the label refugee to acknowledge internationally recognised rights for protection and to try to obstruct politicians and media from delegitimising this protection and status. In effect, this discussion between Hassler and Oomes is a reflection of the larger political and academic debate about whether to use either "refugee" or "migrant," or "voluntary" and "forced" migrant. According to Apostolova, choosing either refugee or migrant would ultimately not do the (ethical) trick since both draw on the basic distinction (or identity boundary) drawn at the time of the Geneva Convention, both have many (changing) connotations and assumptions about reasons for moving that are indeed politicised as Crawley and Skleparis have argued.[97]

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[95] Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2016), 7, 23.

[96] Oomes provided me with the Duch e-mail by Laura Hassler through his revision of the transcript of the interview, and I freely translated it here. Oomes, interview with author, 72-(72).

[97] Raia Apostolova, "Of Refugees and Migrants: Stigma, Politics, and Boundary Work at the Borders of Europe," *American Sociological Association Newsletter*, September 14, 2015. Available through:

CONCLUSION

The above sketch of the organisational landscape through discussion of some of the most important features of the organisation shows how the organisations differ in respect to each other and unveils some of their organizational strategies and choices. To conclude this chapter, I will briefly point out how these features could function as a lens through which to see how organisations both provide opportunities and constraints for refugees and asylum seekers and how boundary drawing is an essential part of this.

The choices that charity organisations make in regard to their geographical location and reach, target groups, musical choices and practices of labelling ultimately condition the kinds of opportunities and constraints they provide for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders. The features additionally point to ways in which boundaries are drawn between different social identities. This might seem trivial and obvious. It seems rather logical for example that choosing children as a target group means that adults might get lost out of sight, and that therefore, some organisations (like War Child) then decide to incorporate parents in their projects. However, the discussion of labelling practices in organisations, as well as the choices that organisations make in relation to musical traditions and genres show that there is indeed a political aspect in what, in Zetter's words, is seemingly unpolitical. Choosing to focus on "refugees" rather than "migrants" more broadly, for example potentially obscures the complex interconnections between economic deprivation and war as reasons for people to leave their country and seek out a future somewhere else. Specifically choosing to focus one's activities on the "authentic" music of refugees, potentially reinscribes orientalist and exoticist representations and value systems about different musical traditions that exist in "host" countries.

Moreover, the type of organisations, in this case charities, and the way they are funded in the Netherlands by both private as well as government funding bodies, affects the ways in which organisations are able to function. It also pulls the organisations that are operative in the Netherlands and especially those with a cultural ANBI status, more directly within the sphere of government cultural- and asylum policy. The kind of governmental cultural policy, especially those policies that relate to migrant incorporation, "integration," and "multiculturalism," affects and mutually interacts with the work and goals of the charity organisations, which is pointed out by Martiniello as well.[98] These issues will be taken up again in chapter 3 which discusses OP and CCO's (musical) goals in connection to cultural policy, government funding, and the

https://asaculturesection.org/2015/09/14/of-refugees-and-migrants-stigma-politics-and-boundary-work-at-the-borders-of-europe/ (accessed June 9, 2019); Crawley and Skleparis, "Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both," 48-49.

[98] Martiniello, "Immigrants, Ethnicized Minorities and the Arts," 1230, 1232.

instrumentalisation of culture.

There are a couple of directions for future research about the organisational landscape of charity organisations that organise music projects for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders that follow from this chapter as well. A network analysis of how the organisations relate to one other, could shed more light on interconnections between organisations such as cooperation between the organisations and overlap of actors in the field or art world. The role and influence of individuals is additionally an aspect that could be analysed more fully.

In this chapter, I have begun to introduce the CCO and OP, and these will be taken as case studies in the chapters that follow. As might have become clear from the above account, CCO and OP are similar in that they are both performing ensembles and (aim) to provide music lessons at asylum seeker centres (CCO has done so in the past). They are also more "locally" located and have a "local reach." Moreover, they have made the same choice in regards to music: to play the music that the participating refugees, asylum seekers and status holders suggest. Yet, there are also some differences, such as the places where they hold their activities, and the internal reasoning about goals with the projects that make it interesting to compare them.

The directions that these chapters take build in important ways on this chapter, both by zooming in on certain features, as well as by bringing material that has somewhat been discussed in isolation in separate features together. In the following chapter, I zoom in on geographical location and scale by bringing in theories on space and community construction to see how specific locations in themselves become important facets of the formulation of the goals of organisations.

CHAPTER 2:

CCO AND OP: POLITICS OF SPACE AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

In this chapter, I look into the different efforts of CCO and OP to build a community in the form of their ensembles, and to build a community around their ensembles. CCO's current internal reconsideration of its aims, goals, and activities (in part to meet requirements for four-year funding by the municipality of Utrecht) has led CCO to formulate a new goal, namely to actively build a community or communities within the neighbourhoods of Oog in Al and Overvecht in Utrecht.[99] OP has no such clearly stated objective about forming a local community around the ensemble, but it attracts and continues to attract residents and former residents of asylum seeker centres who (continue to) play in the ensemble. The latter musicians are important for OP. Founder Ted Van Leeuwen envisions that they can function as peer-educators for the newer band members, but they are also important because they have valuable musical skills and more experiences with the ensemble that are needed for the artistic quality.

These two forms of creating community—a community of all the participants in the ensembles themselves as well as more broadly around the ensembles— are linked in important ways to the places that facilitate or house the ensembles, namely COA asylum seeker centres, or community centres and neighbourhoods. OP's rehearsals and lessons take place at the three COA asylum seeker centres in Amsterdam, Heerhugowaard, and Dronten. CCO on the other hand, rehearses in community and art theatres Het Wilde Westen in Oog in Al (in Utrecht West) and collaborates with the theatre ZIMIHC Stefanus in Utrecht Overvecht.[100] Additionally, CCO provided workshops and music lessons at asylum seeker centres in Utrecht in the context of the municipality program "Plan Einstein."

Yet, these specific "localities" where communities of people around OP and CCO are

[99] Wittink, interview with author.
[100] CCO, "Projecten," "Utrecht Overvecht," https://catchingculturesorchestra.nl/projecten/projecten-in-de-wijk-overvecht/ (accessed July 14 2019).

being formed are not neutral given entities. In the first chapter I used these categories less critically to describe the geographical location and reach of multiple organisations. However, localities, place, and notions of scale such as "local," "national," and "global" are socially and politically constructed as shown by political geographers and anthropologists dealing with space and place.[101] Thus, in this chapter I look more closely at the aspect of spatiality and the power relations and structures that infringe on and construct these places, specifically in relation to asylum seeker centres. Furthermore, I discuss how spatiality relates to the efforts of community building as it is tied up with different kinds establishing spatial boundaries of who and what that community entails, and where that community is seen to be "located."

In what follows, I first discuss the concepts of space, place and locality and community to get a basic understanding of what these might mean for OP and CCO. Thereafter, the bulk of this chapter discusses of how the spatiality of asylum seeker centres might affect the community of the ensemble of OP, followed by a shorter section on CCO's explicit efforts to start building a community. The last section on OP is a prelude to chapter three in which CCO's understanding of cultural participation as a key driving force for their local community relates to Dutch cultural policy will be discussed further.

SPACE, PLACE, LOCALITY AND COMMUNITY

In chapter 1, I distinguished the charity organisations in the Netherlands according to the feature of geographical location and reach. The geographical locations and reach of the organisations were subdivided in internationally orientated, nationally oriented, and locally orientated locations. However, when looking more closely at these different scales, it becomes clear that the boundaries between them are not so sharp as they suggest. Firstly, multiple organisations work simultaneously on multiple locations, such as MwB which is both active with its project Welcome Notes in the Netherlands, in Greece and in Germany and thus could be said to digress from a strict distinction between national and international. Moreover, I denoted the efforts of De Vrolijkheid at multiple asylum seeker centres in the Netherlands as nationally orientated, yet each of these COA "local" locations will have its own dynamics as a result of different program leaders. Thus, in order to discuss the manner in which OP and CCO construct local communities, it is helpful to look into theories of scale and locality connected to community

[101] Martin Jones, Rhys Jones, and Michael Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography: Space, Place and Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 99. See also James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta, "Spatializing States: Toward an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality," *American Ethnologist* 29/4 (2002): 981-1002.

construction.

Notions of "scale," like the ones I used in the previous chapter—whether local, national or global—are in fact constructed through social and political interactions and structures. Moreover, globalisation has made a strict delineation between the different scales more difficult since places increasingly become connected to one another through global social media, global systems of trade and the like. This is also stressed by Martin Jones, Rhys Jones, and Michael Woods: in their conceptualisation of "place," they take into account that globalisation resulted in increasing connections between the local and the global. They define place as "a unique mixture of social, economic and cultural relations, some of which are local in character, some of which have a global reach."[102] The concept of place is not per se tied to a specific scale of local, national, or global, although it can be. Rather, place is conceptualised here as the intersection of social relations and linkages. As Jones, Jones and Woods put it, place "is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and interweaving together at a particular locus."[103]

The conceptualisation of place as intersections of social relations and linkages rather than particular points in space, affects the way in which the governance of these places are conceptualised, and thus how politics intersects and works through places. The way in which politics and governance plays into the construction of local communities around the ensembles of OP and CCO is important to take into account if these local communities are to be better understood. Gupta and Ferguson, for example, have argued that states are invested in maintaining and establishing "imaginations" of the state's spatiality as somehow "vertical," or in other words somehow located above civil society, communities, and family, and at the same time as "horizontal," encompassing where the state is seen as located within extended circles from the family eventually to the nation state.[104] In the context of the construction of communities around the ensembles, it could thus be said that the "local" is a constructed or imagined spatiality as well. Jones, Jones and Wood's conceptualisation of the politics of scale can help to make this clear. They show that constructions of a "locality" are actually established through local politics as well as social, economic and cultural relations intersecting local and multiple other scales that define "place." Thus, the "local" is not a given entity, but instead a "locality" is constructed by different actors and institutions.

The construction of a scale of "locality" by different actors and institutions is visible in

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[102] Jones, Jones, and Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography*, 101.
[103] Ibid.
[104] James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta, "Spatializing States: Toward an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality," *American Ethnologist* 29/4 (2002): 982-983.

the case of the asylum seeker centres where OP conducts its activity. The centres themselves are maintained and governed by COA more broadly, which provides rehearsal spaces within the centres for both De Vrolijkheid and OP (as well as for other organisations such as Vluchtelingenwerk, War Child among others). Organisational and institutional actors construct these rehearsal spaces and the space of asylum seeker centres more broadly as certain "locations" where their activities take place. Moreover, organisations additionally construct imagined communities that are tied to these locations through the manner in which they speak about and act in name of communities and localities.

Thus, how and where organisations operate, particularly on a local level, can directly reflect and indeed shape these discursive constructions of community. Local activists and organisations construct a "locality" through the way in which they choose "local" objectives and goals of activism, and how they activate discursive representations of their neighbourhood or community to achieve these goals.[105] This kind of construction of a local scale through discursive representations of the neighbourhood or communities becomes especially evident in the way in which CCO's activities are aimed at the neighbourhoods Oog in Al and Overvecht. Roelof Wittink for example, discusses the main activities of CCO as being focussed on the neighbourhood. Moreover, he envisions that the community building takes place at the cultural centre Het Wilde Westen as well as the COA asylum seeker centre located at the Joseph Haydnlaan and through participation of CCO's musical activities at these places. In other words, the effort to build a community is discursively represented as occurring within and through the localities of the neighbourhood spaces and places, namely the rehearsals at Het Wilde Westen and workshops and lessons at the azc in the Joseph Haydnlaan in Oog in Al and the collaboration with theatre ZIMIHC Stefanus in Overvecht.

However, scale is also constructed, I would argue, through the (discursive) interaction between CCO and other institutions and organisations, such as the municipality of Utrecht. Put differently, the discursive representations of local scale and local activism of CCO is mutually constructed and intersected by discursive representations of scale and policy programs from municipal, regional, national, and even European policy programs, as well as other institutions and organisations at work in the locality and with CCO.

As a first example, the stated goals (or local activism) of the venue Het Wilde Westen where CCO rehearses, is to develop, initiate, and organise the supply of cultural and artistic activities at the level of the neighbourhood.[106] CCO draws on the mission statement of Het Wilde

[105] Jones, Jones, and Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography*, 103.
[106] Het Wilde Westen, "Over het Wilde Westen," https://www.hetwildewesten.nl/hww/over-het-wilde-westen (accessed July 22, 2019).

Westen in its own discursive construction of a neighbourhood community. This is apparent in CCO's statement on its website about how Het Wilde Westen is an important partner in its activities in Utrecht West (including Oog in Al). CCO states that Het Wilde Westen is an important cultural centre for and by the whole neighbourhood and around the neighbourhood which "works from the motto that art in your direct environment connects."[107] CCO then reuses this discursive representation by relating its decision to rehearse at Het Wilde Westen by stating that it will help to come closer to the neighbourhood residents who are invited to come and listen.

A second example regards the intersections between community organizations and government policy discourse. During the interview I had with Wittink, he mentioned that in the past, members of CCO have provided music lessons and workshops in a temporary asylum seeker centre as well as the location at the Joseph Haydnlaan in Utrecht.[108] Wishing to organise such activities again, he said that he had applied for funding from the municipality, for "the municipality had specific policy with that, the so-called Plan Einstein."[109] Plan Einstein is a policy program of the municipality of Utrecht which is funded by the Urban Innovative Actions Programme for the period of 2017-2019. This Urban Innovative Actions Programme is part of the European Regional Development Fund, which is ultimately financed by the European Commission.[110] According to the website of Plan Einstein, it was developed on the doctrine that Utrecht should be an inclusive city *for* and *with* everybody.[111] It aims to integrate asylum seekers and refugees through courses, workshops, and activities that are available for both asylum seekers and refugees as well as "neighbours." This is thought to broaden the (social) networks of refugees in order to stimulate integration and provide better opportunities for their future. By working within the context of Plan Einstein, CCO over time appears to have picked up discursive representations of inclusiveness and participation of asylum seekers and refugees in the neighbourhood.

The kind of discursive interaction that I hinted at above lies in the way in which Wittink himself formulated the local activism of CCO in terms of neighbourhood participation in addition to artistic innovation.[112] While alignment with the discourse of possible funders could be seen as an attempt to acquire funding by formulating one's own goals in relation to what is

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[107] CCO, "Projecten," "Utrecht West," https://catchingculturesorchestra.nl/projecten/projecten-in-de-wijk-oog-in-al/ (accessed July 22, 2019).
[108] Wittink, interview with author, (18).
[109] Ibid.
[110] Plan Einstein, "Plan Einstein Haydn," https://plan-einstein.nl/en/plan-einstein-haydn/ (accessed July 22, 2019).
[111] Emphasis originally in bold. Plan Einstein, "Plan Einstein Haydn."
[112] Wittink, interview with author, (18).

thought the funder might find attractive, it is also a discursive representation and formulation of local activism which constructs a locality of scale.[113] In CCO's case, the community is discursively constructed through the way in which participation of the entire neighbourhood, including family members, friends, and institutions, is envisioned by bringing together—"connecting"—asylum seekers, refugees, and "neighbours" in CCO's musical activities.

Although the community is discursively constructed and represented by the organisations in terms of the space of the local neighbourhood, community cannot be readily equated with local places. Rather, a community is are made up of a group of people who regularly interact with each other, have certain common social identities (which can be ethnic, religious, et cetera) and share common interests, values and meaning systems. Individual members of a community can be part of other communities at the same time. Moreover, as Jones, Jones and Woods point out, they do not necessarily have to be located in a specific geographical place.[114] Instead, there can be multiple communities present in certain (geographical) locations. At the same time, the physical, symbolic, and even virtual spaces in which regular contact between members of the community, community activities, and routines take place do shape and establish the communities to a large extent.[115] Thus, the spaces in which communal activities take place participate in the formation of the community, such as the areas, buildings, and rehearsal spaces of asylum seeker centres where OP is mostly active, and/or community centres in neighbourhoods where CCO is mostly active. It also points out that members of a certain (local) community might be part of overlapping communities too, including diasporic ones. The regular mutual interaction between members of communities do not have to be face to face per se, as scholars discussing diaspora, refugee, and migrant communities have shown.[116] In this sense, the WhatsApp group in which members of CCO keep each other updated about professional and personal things, as well the contacts between members on Facebook pages, or through CCO's Facebook page, might all constitute communities of some sort.

At the same time, communities are envisioned as somehow bounded, meaning that communities at the same time include and exclude people, as Benedict Anderson has pointed out in relation to national communities, for example.[117] Moreover, power is differently distributed over individual members within the community; leaders within communities have more influence than most other members. Thus, Jones, Jones, and Woods point out that there is a politics of

[113] Jones, Jones, and Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography*, 103.
[114] Jones, Jones, and Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography*, 105.
[115] Ibid.
[116] See for example, Koen Leurs and Sandra Ponzanesi, "Connected Migrants: Encapsulation and Cosmopolitanization," *Popular Communication* 16/1 (2018): 4-20.
[117] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London; New York: Verso, 2016 [1983]), 7.

place at work in and around local communities that is constituted through the ethnic, religious, class and other such characteristics of the dominant community as well as the physical, economic and administrative structural characteristics of the place.[118] In the next section of this chapter, I go into the kinds of politics of space that are at work at the asylum seeker centres where CCO has been active and aims to organise music activities in the future, and where OP is structurally active.

ASYLUM SEEKER CENTRES AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

The spatial aspects or characteristics of asylum seeker centres influences the musical activities and the community established through and around OP and CCO. In this section, I draw on a number of concepts that scholars have used to discuss the politics of space at work in asylum seeker centres and refugee camps. This includes Saskia Witteborn's use of heterotopia in relation to the labelling of asylum seekers which will be put to use to show how efforts to building a community within asylum seeker centres is constrained due to the movement of people in and out of the centres. Marta Zarzycka's concept of "space of exception" and her use of Agamben's concept of non-space will be used in relation to the attempt of OP to make the rehearsal space more of a "home" even when the spatiality of asylum seeker centres contradicts the establishment of a home for asylum seekers in important ways. Most of the case study examples will relate to OP, because in comparison to CCO, OP is more regularly active at asylum seeker centres.

The manner in which labelling and boundary drawing between different identities is at work in asylum seeker centres, becomes for example clear in the anecdote with which I began this thesis. When I visited the band rehearsal, I and other visitors were easily distinguishable through the visitor's badges we received, and which most people hung around their necks. Our identity as non-residents was thus physically visible. Thus, the kind of labelling in bureaucratic processes and procedures which (trans)forms and politicises certain identities, as Zetter has shown, is related to the manner in which the politics of space of asylum seeker centres contributes to this kind of labelling and boundary drawing and maintaining between different identities. The strategy of De Vrolijkheid as well as OP to reconfigure or transform the label of asylum seeker into participants or residents during their activities, which I discussed in the first chapter in relation to labelling, is connected to this as well. I argued in that context that

[118] Jones, Jones, and Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography*, 105.

transforming these labels in this way, does not necessarily "undo" the labelling completely.

For a large part, this is because of the spatiality of the asylum seeker centres and the way this politics of space contributes to labelling and boundary drawing. Other scholars, like Saskia Witteborn, have discussed this link between space and labelling. Drawing on Zetter, Witteborn has noted how the labelling and categorizing of refugees "arrests forced migrants in place and space."[119] Drawing on Foucault, she argues that spaces like asylum seeker centres can be conceptualized as heterotopias. These are, she says, "counter-emplacements" that reflect the social norms and dominant epistemes of a society, because these are places designed for certain groups of people (often in certain life stages) who are seen as "deflections" from that social norm. Thus, asylum seeker centres are heterotopias, since they are constructed as spaces for asylum seekers who deviate from the norm as non-citizens.[120] Resulting from this is that labelling and categorizations are difficult to bypass in heterotopias such as asylum seeker centres since they are so tied up with spatial politics. To bypass terms that are considered to be very loaded, like "asylum seeker," "refugee," or "forced migrant," organizations like OP and Happiness often prefer to use terms like "residents." But even this seemingly more neutral term constructs the people living in those heterotopias as different from the norm of (Dutch) citizenship and those that live "outside" these spaces. This, I think ultimately hinders the construction of a completely "equal" relationship between asylum seekers and people with Dutch citizenships in musical activities organized at asylum seeker centres, and in extension the community that could be built out of these interactions.

The concept of heterotopia sheds light on at least one aspect of how the spatial politics of asylum seeker centres infringes on musical activities and the communities that are established through these. Theories about refugee camps and detention centres offer two other concepts that can help to understand other aspects of this spatial politics. The first concept is the concept of non-space as an entry point into the alternative homeliness of asylum seeker centres, and a second but related aspect is the temporality of the stay of asylum seekers in asylum seeker centres. Marta Zarzycka analysed refugee camps through Marc Augé's concept of non-place, which can be a starting point for the analysing how spatiality affects community formation. Zarzycka for example points out how "the refugee camp is seen as the model of *non lieu*, or *non-place* (Augé, 1995), a place devoid of identity, perpetually temporal and extraterritorial, never a household, never a home."[121] Zarzycka in her discussion of (non)humanitarian space of refugee

[119] Saskia Witteborn, "Constructing the Forced Migrant and the Politics of Space and Place-Making," *Journal of Communication* 61 (2011): 1145.
[120] Witteborn, "Constructing the Forced Migrant," 1145.
[121] Zarzycka, "Stillness en Route," 100.

camps uses Augé's non-place to point out how humanitarian photographs portray refugee camps and tents as "homes" through gendered tropes and a rhetoric of a heteronormative domesticity with the aim to reach western publics as potential supporters and funders. When looking at the rehearsal space of OP which it shares with De Vrolijkheid in the asylum seeker centre in Amsterdam, the efforts to create a "homely" space comes to the fore as well. When I was there, the hallway leading up to the rehearsal room was being painted in lively colours and patterns, and the room itself was furnished with a couch and chairs around a coffee table, carpet (if I remember correctly it was a Persian carpet), and during the band rehearsal in the evening one (Dutch) participant helped everyone to some cookies, coffee and tea. Thus, the making people feel at "home" seemed rather present too in these spaces, even when considering that these heterotopic, non-spaces contradicts that these spaces are a home, as Zarzycka argues.

It is interesting to relate this to something that Van Leeuwen said when talking about the possible side effects of the project. While explicitly stating that these are not his main goals with the project, these included that the members of OP become a sort of family at one point. Additionally, it might offer the musicians as well as audiences that visit the rehearsals (including residents) a fun evening in the week that might chase away boredom and apathy of people who are waiting in asylum seeker centres.[122] I would suggest that the "homely" spatiality of the rehearsal room might be said to influence these dynamics as well, in an effort to contradict the non-spaceness of asylum seeker centres.

The second aspect that I would like to draw attention to, is the extraterritoriality and temporality that Zarzycka emphasises in relation to non-space. This temporality is an important aspect of asylum seeker centres as well in the sense that these centres are places where people are (uncertainly) awaiting the results of their asylum applications, and thus as a temporal suspense like Van Leeuwen pointed out as well. Most, if not all, asylum seeker centres are transitory locations—denotated by Witteborn following Foucault as heterochronisms— in the sense that people (are) move(d) in and out respectively when their asylum applications are either denied or approved.[123] Thus, the residents living in asylum seeker centres fluctuate, and as a consequence, the participants active in OP and other activities that are organised by non-profit organisations fluctuate as well, because asylum seekers are only temporarily living in the centres.

This has consequences for the community that is established in OP as well. For example, Van Leeuwen stated that over the ten years that OP has been active, around seventy people have participated either for long or short periods of time in OP.[124] Even though according to Van

[122] Van Leeuwen, interview with author, 21.
[123] Witteborn, "Constructing the Forced Migrant," 1146.
[124] Van Leeuwen, interview with author, (3).

Leeuwen at least a core group remains active in performances and attending rehearsals, a large portion of the participants temporarily participates in the musical activities of OP. Participants in OP might move to other provinces and municipalities in the Netherlands after their applications have been approved, making it possibly too far away and too expensive to continue to visit the rehearsals of and perform with OP.

Another example that shows how the temporality of asylum seeker centres affects and influences the activities of OP, is by looking at the music lessons OP provides. Percussionist Modar Salama, who migrated (he did not self-identify with the label "refugee") from Syria to the Netherlands, was asked by Van Leeuwen to join OP as a music teacher and percussionist in performances. He told me the following about the music lessons he taught at asylum seeker centres:

Modar Salama:	Yes, you know, not all the people are regular [visitors]. Because these people also wait for papers and things. And then suddenly they go to a different azc or something. Yes. Then you cannot really ehm…
Author:	Build something up?
Modar Salama:	Yes, or plan something for six months or two months. No, it is just like that.
Author:	Ah, yes, so you also see a lot of different people who come and then…
Modar Salama:	Yes, but mostly actually, the, there are people who come every time, who love music or are musicians themselves or something. Or they just enjoy to… participate or something. You see also faces that return every time.[125]

Following from this, is that the music lessons provided in asylum seeker centres, even when they are structural in the form of weekly activities are in a sense restricted because of the spatiality (and temporality) of the centres themselves in terms of what can be planned and taught during the period that residents can follow lessons.

The concepts that I drew on in the above, thus show how the spatiality of asylum seeker

[125] Modar Salama, interview with author, 65-69.

centres influences the musical activities of OP as well as the kind of community that OP could be said to create within its ensemble. In the next section of this chapter, I briefly go into the link that CCO makes in constructing a neighbourhood community around the ensemble, by drawing on notions of cultural participation.

NEIGHBOURHOOD PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY

CCO has recently made its goal to actively start building a community more explicit. This goal is tightly connected to the idea that cultural participation of neighbourhood residents, in whatever form, ties people together and to CCO. Here, I briefly discuss the sort of community that CCO aims to construct. Since the goal to build a community was only just set out CCO does not yet make explicit who will be part and who will not be part of this community, the kind of values, and common identity of the community. Thus, many of the aspects that I pointed out above are part of what makes a community a community I would suggest, are still more or less "under construction."

One example in which CCO tries to construct a community is through appointing someone whose work it will be to build a community. In June 2019, CCO released a vacancy for a "community builder" which included a section on the kind of community CCO envisions:

> This development befits an active community of people involved in our mission, who get to know each other better, enthuse and activate. The community that we envision is broad and does not consist solely out of interested music makers, but also out of friends, family, neighbours, cultural institutions and companies. CCO offers you the opportunity to partake in musical activities with which you meet people who have grown up in a totally different tradition. We invite everyone to connect his or her passion for music to that of others and in this way establish new contacts.[126]

The development that the quote begins with, referred to the growth of CCO through their musical activities, including the yearly festivals they organise, the music lessons their members gave, performances, and co-productions with other ensembles. Moreover, this development included the increasing emphasis on artistic innovation and the broad participation in the activities of CCO.[127]

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[126] CCO, "Vacature Community Manager," published on May 17, 2019, https://catchingculturesorchestra.nl/vacature-community-manager/ (accessed July 30). The complete vacancy from which this quote derives can be found through: https://catchingculturesorchestra.nl/wp-content/uploads/Profielschets-Community-Manager-15-mei-2019.pdf (accessed July 30, 2019).
[127] See the vacancy through: https://catchingculturesorchestra.nl/wp-content/uploads/Profielschets-Community-Manager-15-mei-2019.pdf (accessed July 30, 2019).

Furthermore, when discussing the plans of CCO to actively start building a community around CCO, Roelof Wittink described how part of the aim is to become really visible in the neighbourhood as an orchestra that wants something with that neighbourhood, including workshops, performances, lessons or music parades.[128] In describing the community he envisioned, he said to me during the interview:

> It could be that people say, 'hey, I want to cooperate, I want eh to co-organise that festival, ehm… we're going to support you with volunteer work, we are going to support you with donations.' But that you thus really create a community that feels itself connected with Catching Cultures Orchestra, is interested in the music *and* in the social side, just watching in all sorts of ways like ah, I want to listen, or I want to do something, or I want to play music along too, or… I actually want to take lessons, or I want to see whether I can join the orchestra.[129]

Thus, actively participating in and helping to organise the activities of CCO is seen as one of the major aspects of this community, as well as the feeling of being connected with, and through CCO. The explicitly stated goals to construct a community around CCO is not the only difference in comparison to OP which has no such explicit statement. CCO, in comparison with OP, rehearses at least once every two weeks at the community art centre Het Wilde Westen, in which the spatial politics is arguably less loaded than the heterotopic non-spaces of the asylum seeker centres. Rather than going into the spatiality of those specific centres like I did in relation to asylum seeker centres above (which are however, part of the neighbourhood community that CCO envisions for itself in the future), I seek out in the next chapter what the relation is between the way in which CCO discursively represents the local community and their points of activism within that locality and cultural participation. It will uncover the relation between cultural policy which aims to stimulate cultural participation of neighbourhoods for its own reasons, and CCO's focus on participation as a key driving force for their community.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the importance of spaces and places on the construction of communities by the ensembles by focussing on how communities are discursively constructed, and how the spatial politics of especially asylum seeker centres infringes on musical activities that take place within these centres. It also devoted some attention to the efforts of CCO to construct a local community in the neighbourhood around the musical activities of CCO. Both the recent

[128] Wittink, interview with author (18).
[129] Ibid.

appointment of a community builder, as well as the focus of CCO on neighbourhood participation to the ensemble were taken under consideration. Through this discussion the link between this chapter and the next was made: CCO, as this chapter made clear, constructs a neighbourhood locality and community through its discursive representations and description of its goals. At the same time, the "cultural participation" of neighbourhoods and Dutch society more broadly are embedded in cultural policy of the government. This cultural policy ultimately sees cultural participation as well as cultural diversity as way to boost economic and urban development and as a consequence art and music are seen as a resource to achieve these other goals. Thus, the construction of a neighbourhood community and participation of it its members in CCO is part of a dynamic between the efforts of CCO and municipality cultural policy that supports CCO.

While I mainly looked into how the spatial politics of asylum seeker centres affects the community of OP, it could be further researched in relation to the music lessons of De Vrolijkheid, Vluchtelingenwerk, the Band with no Residence Permit (out of which CCO partly grew and which is still active at the azc in Utrecht) and in the future projects of CCO in collaboration with the asylum seeker centre. An important line of research about refugee camps and detention centres investigates the "power regime" consisting of the intersection of different (humanitarian) aid organisations and camp direction and how these power regimes manage these spaces. Thus, how music projects by non-profit and charity organisations working at asylum seeker centres enter in a spatial governmentality as one of multiple parties present (including COA and the above mentioned) is an important question that still needs to be addressed more fully and would require more research.

Moreover, the inner politics of the communities of both CCO and OP could be further researched, especially in light of different power positions within the ensembles. For example, it is worthwhile to consider that many of the organisations mentioned in this thesis—with exception of De Vrolijkheid in which employers with a refugee background are active in the organisation itself—most if not all the "leaders" of the organisations are predominantly white (and male), as well as Dutch. Wittink was self-reflective about this when strongly suggesting that I should try to hear the experiences of the participants with a refugee or migrant background. But looking at this local politics of the community that CCO aims to build the coming year(s) would be important future research.

CHAPTER 3:

CCO, OP AND THE INSTRUMENTALISATION OF CULTURE

"Culture connects. People often experience culture together: as visitor or as maker, in a theatre or in a community centre. Making music together in a fanfare creates a bond, just as studying a performance together or meeting each other during an exhibition does."[130]

In this chapter, I look into how charity organisations, specifically CCO and OP, can be placed within the phenomenon of the instrumentalisation of culture. Furthermore, I investigate how the arguments in debates on the use of music and arts for other ends relate to the efforts of CCO and OP as not for profit organisations that organise music projects to achieve social change in one way or another. The organisations often speak in terms of the alleged abilities (or even power) of music to facilitate communication between people who do not speak the same language or share the same musical background, or to even function as a (universal) language and thus bring people together. These ideas about music form the basis for how music is thought to be an instrument for achieving social outcomes, such as social cohesion, community building, as well as social integration of refugees and economic and urban (neighbourhood) development.

This idea is reflected in cultural policy documents too, as the above quotation from the guiding principles for Cultural Policy for the period 2021-2024 Minister of Education, Culture and Science (Dutch: Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, in short OCW) Ingrid van Engelshoven shows. The document also points to the held ideas about how arts can be used as a means for other ends. Van Engelshoven aims at the expansion and renewal of the basic infrastructure of the cultural field, so that it becomes a good reflection of existing cultural preferences in society, partly through making room for more genres as to reach a "broader, more varied public."[131] It moreover states that "culture has an important intrinsic and a connecting value."[132] Added to this

[130] Minister of OCW, Ingrid van Engelshoven, *Uitgangspunten Cultuurbeleid 2021-2024* (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, June 11, 2019), 3. Available through: https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/beleidsnota-s/2019/06/11/uitgangspunten-cultuurbeleid-2021-2024 (accessed June 25, 2019).
[131] Van Engelshoven, *Uitgangspunten Cultuurbeleid 2021-2024*, 3-4, 6-7.
[132] Van Engelshoven, *Uitgangspunten Cultuurbeleid 2021-2024*, 16.

is Van Engelshoven's statement that culture is a significant or meaningful factor economically, arguing that "culture enriches: it deepens our emotional lives, it makes our society more close-knight and stimulates economic activity."[133]

The ideas that arts and culture are a potent instrument to achieve social and economic development, can be placed in the longer history of cultural policy in the Netherlands (and in Europe more broadly) where government involvement in the arts has waxed and waned and has been both cheered and disapproved of.[134] In these debates advocates for and against the instrumentalisation of culture usually stood against one another. In the meantime, both instrumental values and intrinsic values of arts and culture expressed by ideas such as art for art's sake, seem to be increasingly used alongside one another, for example in the guiding principles by Van Engelshoven above. I argue that this combination of both intrinsic and instrumental values and uses of art can be seen reflected in the two-fold reasoning behind OP and CCO which have both enjoyed or still enjoy (indirect) state funding through the Cultural Participation Fund which is part of the basic infrastructure of the state cultural funding (called BIS). CCO and OP's twofold reasoning that touches both on the intrinsic values attached to music as well as the instrumental ones, are musical curiosity and social concern.

Besides (the debate on) cultural policy and funding at state level, the cultural policy of the municipalities is important to consider. Roel Pots notes that since the time of the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth century city councils have remained important centres of power for development of arts and the cultural life.[135] OP and CCO have found (financial) support in the cultural policies of municipalities, respectively Amsterdam and Alkmaar, and Utrecht. Furthermore, the general director of CCO, Roelof Wittink told me that CCO will apply for the four-year structural funding by the municipality of Utrecht after the latter had stated their interests due to CCO's diversity and musical content.[136] In each of these cultural policies, diversity of arts and culture (both in content and in relation to personnel), talent development, and cultural participation are important policy themes. In what follows, I analyse how these themes prefigure in the language of OP and CCO, how these themes are reflected in both cultural policy documents and mission statements of OP and CCO, and most importantly, how they relate to the climate of the intstrumentalisation of culture more broadly.

Below, I first go into the phenomenon of the instrumentalisation of culture more deeply by investigating theories about it. Then, I will look into the two-fold reasoning behind CCO and

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[133] Van Engelshoven, *Uitgangspunten Cultuurbeleid 2021-2024*, 3.
[134] See for a history of Dutch cultural policy Roel Pots, *Cultuur, Koningen en Democraten: Overheid en Cultuur in Nederland*, 4th ed. (Zeist: Boom, 2010 [2000]). All subsequent citations refer to this edition.
[135] Pots, *Cultuur, Koningen en Democraten*, 428-431.
[136] Wittink, interview with author.

OP showing that both intrinsic values and instrumental values in the guise of musical curiosity and social concern are used alongside one another. I then address how CCO and OP relate to the main themes in cultural policy, namely cultural participation, diversity, and talent development and how these figure in cultural policy and the language of the ensembles. It appears that what music is thought to be able to accomplish, or in other words the role, function, or the assumed power of music is an important aspect of how both the instrumentality and/or the intrinsic values of music are understood by the organisations themselves as well as by their (government) funders. Music's purported ability to foster connection between people—whether or not through music's supposed quality as a universal language—figures through claims as to what music is said to achieve in terms of social transformations.

THE INSTRUMENTALISATION OF ARTS AND CULTURE

The arts and culture are increasingly seen and used by governments and non-governmental actors as ways to effect social change, such as strengthening cohesion, fostering multicultural tolerance, or for urban development projects to stimulate economic development.[137] According to George Yúdice, the instrumentalisation, or actually the expediency of arts and culture—its use to affect social change or economic development—by governments, civil society and non-government organisations, must be seen in light of the expediency of culture. The expediency of culture highlights that culture is used "as a resource for other ends."[138] A number of authors, such as Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennet, Kees Vuyk, and George Yúdice point out that art and culture have historically been "used" in an instrumentalised manner for a long time. Bennet and Belfiore argue how Britain's decreasing government funding for the arts and culture resulted in debates about the value of art in terms of intrinsic or art-for-art's-sake versus the instrumentalisation of art in academia, policy documents and media in Britain, and elsewhere in western societies such as in the Netherlands.[139]

In the last decade, budget cuts in the Netherlands on funding for arts and culture (re-)kindled a debate about the value of the arts with justifications that either reasoned for the autonomy and the intrinsic value of the arts or the "instrumental" values which were often used

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[137] George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2003), 11; Kees Vuyk, "The Arts as an Instrument? Notes on the Controversy Surrounding the Value of Art," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 16/2 (2010): 173.,
[138] Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 25.
[139] Eleonora Belfiore & Oliver Bennet, *The Social Impacts of the Arts: An Intellectual History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 10.

to legitimate state funding of the arts. One case in point is the document *Revaluing Culture* (Dutch: Cultuur Herwaarderen) published in 2015 by the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (Dutch: Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid, in short, WRR). In this document, the WRR addresses three historically traceable perspectives on culture in Dutch cultural policy, namely an artistic perspective, a social perspective and an economic perspective.[140] The authors of the WRR document ultimately argue that "policy makers should concentrate more on the unique properties of culture" and strengthen the sector so that it can respond to challenges.[141]

To understand the arguments used in these debates more fully, Belfiore and Bennet on the one hand explore the history of ideas about the ability of art and culture to transform the lives of individuals and collectives. On the other hand they study the history of ideas of the beleaguerment and crisis of the arts and culture in which arts and culture are seen as undervalued and in danger.[142] Moreover, they pay attention to negative valuations of arts, ultimately arguing that claims about the value and impact of the arts and culture are contested both in the past and in the present. They additionally argue that claims made in the past inform ideas about the value of art and culture in the present. Kees Vuyk argues that the arts have always already been used "instrumentally" in western societies from Plato on, for example to elevate (or "civilise") populations or for propaganda purposes especially in the twentieth century during the Cold War and earlier by communist and fascist governments.[143] He argues that Western political ideals in the mid-twentieth century found their match in aspects of modernism, such as the autonomy and freedom of art and that these features of art were used by western governments to show that liberal democracy was right and to set off against the communist East. Autonomy, he argues, became symbolically equated with democratic citizenship (and anti-utilitarianism), and artistic innovation was symbolic for a resistance against the traditionalism of authoritarian and totalitarian states.[144] In this sense, ideas about autonomy and freedom of art were in fact instrumentally used even though it seemed as if the arts were supported on "intrinsic" grounds. When the Cold War ended and the use of art and culture as ideological propaganda were no longer needed, Vuyk argues new arguments (i.e. "instrumentalist" ones) were needed to legitimise cultural policy funding.

Yúdice also points out that arts have been used instrumentally before, for example to

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[140] The WRR issued both an English and a Dutch version, the following refers to the English version: Erik Schrijvers, Anne-Greet Keizer and Godfried Engbersen, *Revaluing Culture* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 12. Available through: https://english.wrr.nl/publications/investigation/2015/10/27/revaluing-culture (accessed June 29, 2019).
[141] Schrijvers, Keizer, and Engbersen, *Revaluing Culture*, 12.
[142] Belfiore & Bennet, *The Social Impact of the Arts,* 4, 10-11.
[143] Kees Vuyk, "The Arts as an Instrument?" 173-174.
[144] Ibid., 176.

elevate the masses, and thus that instrumentalisation is not new. However, he argues that the legitimation of cultural policy as well as the use of the arts took a different form since the increase of globalisation (which speeded the process of turning everything into a resource) and the end of the Cold War after which the legitimation of artistic freedom as an antidote to communist utilitarianism of art was no longer deemed valid.[145] He proposes to see the commencing of postmodernism—of which the expediency of culture is a part—as a fourth episteme.[146] In this postmodern episteme, the different (neo-liberal) constellations of networks between governments, non-government organisations, civil society, and other institutions such as the judiciary, the police and educational systems result in different struggles over culture as a resource.[147] In the context of CCO and other charity organisations in the Netherlands that focus on refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders however, it appears that charity organisations such as CCO are supported by government funding. In addition, instrumentalist notions appear in both cultural policy and mission statements, and these could be said to mutually reinforce and draw on each other.

Why however, would non-profit organisations, governments, development banks, the World Bank, the European Union and other institutions be so interested to use art as a resource? To answer this question, Yúdice points to Elcior Santana, who argues that these institutions and funders rely on mechanisms of incentive and compensation (as an alternative to price), which would give investors enough assurance to invest in cultural projects in the expectation that there will be a return.[148] The economic and social development, including social cohesion and integration of refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders I suggest is such an incentive as it relates to the charity organisations and the cultural policy of the government, especially to CCO and OP. In this respect, Yúdice quotes Santana, who had warned that "'culture for culture's sake,' whatever that may be, will never be funded, unless it provides an indirect form of return."[149] About the kinds of return, Yúdice says:

> The different kinds of return are fiscal incentives, institutional marketing or publicity value, and the conversion of nonmarket activity to market activity. MDBS [Multilateral Development Banks] priotize cultural funding projects that bear some relation to the traditional areas of banks and must have an

[145] While Kees Vuck also points to the end of the Cold War as a landmark that changed the use of instrumentalisation of the arts in important ways that still affect the present debate especially in relation to participation as part of "democratic" cultural policies, and the end of "propagandizing" freedom and autonomy of art against the utilitarianism of the Soviet Union, he withholds from arguing that it is in any way a different epistemological instrumentalisation like Yúdice argues (i.e. a shift in episteme). Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 11.
[146] Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 29-31.
[147] Ibid., 39, 43.
[148] Ibid., 14-15; Elcior Santana, Remarks at "Transnationalization of Support for Culture in a Globalizing World" (Bellagio Study and Conference Center, Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, 6-10 December, 1999).
[149] Santana in Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 15.

> instrumental outcome, for example in health, education, the formation of social capital, or the support and reinforcement of civil society.[150]

Yúdice then continues that in light of this expectation of return, the evaluation of the impact of cultural projects becomes important, which resonates with the kind of evaluation that is in favour with government bodies as well (besides the corporate or bank investments that Santana discusses): evidence-based policy making.[151]

The kinds of trends that Yúdice outlines can be seen in recent Dutch-policy making, particularly in the field of social "integration." For example, the Dutch government has recently issued the National Centre of Expertise for Cultural Education and Amateur Arts (in Dutch: Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie Amateur kunst, in short, LKCA) to investigate how art projects focussing on status holders aid integration in the Netherlands, results of which might be used to (de-)legitimize government funding. Following Yúdice, this kind of evidence-based research could thus be theorised as an attempt to find out what kind of return the projects might have or have, namely integration. LKCA is part of the BIS: the basic cultural infrastructure that receives structural funding by the government on the basis of four-year periods. Both Orchestre Partout and Catching Cultures Orchestra appear in the study of LKCA as part of music projects that might stimulate integration. During the interview with Ted van Leeuwen, this particular research came up as well even though I had not specifically addressed either the research (which at that point I had already read) or integration. I will return to this issue below when reflecting on the dual reasoning behind OP and CCO, but first make a brief detour to how culture as a resource figures on a European level in relation to integration.

On the level of European policy, this kind of instrumentalisation of art as a resource for social "integration" seems evident too: the Dutch project Eigen-Wijs organised by Vluchtelingenwerk, as well as De Vrolijkheid received funding from the Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund (AMIF) for a period of seven years from 2014-2020, which is a fund from the European Commission's Migration and Home Affairs.[152] While I unfortunately could not find information about the amount of the funding or the specific reasoning of the EC to grant it to projects that specifically use music to target children in asylum seekers centres, the overall objective is to "improve reception capacities, ensure that asylum procedures are in line with

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[150] Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 15.

[151] See for an account of why the impact of art projects is difficult to assess using this kind of evaluation, Belfiore and Bennet, *The Social Impact of the Arts*, 5-12.

[152] Directorate General For Migration and Home Affairs, *Snapshots from the EU Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund and EU Internal Security Fund* (2017), 46-47, available through: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/20175691_dr0217970enn.pdf (accessed June 27, 2019)., De Vrolijkheid, "Het Europees Fonds voor Asiel, Migratie en Integratie (AMIF)," https://vrolijkheid.nl/amif/ (accessed June 27, 2019).

Union standards, integrate migrants at local and regional levels and increase the effectiveness of return programmes."[153] And ultimately, to stimulate the common approach of the EU to asylum and integration.[154] I would suggest that the expected or hoped for return in Yúdice's terms of both the Dutch government and the EU is the "integration" of migrants and refugees, and for the EU the added objective the strengthening of a common asylum and integration policy. The idea that music facilitates or is even the preeminent art form facilitating intercultural dialogue resonates with this as well. Beckles Willson has pointed out that the increasing emphasis on intercultural dialogue by institutions such as the EU is part of a climate of ideas in "early twenty-first-century European thinking on cultural policy" that supports music projects such as the West-Eastern Divan. She argues that in this climate of ideas about intercultural dialogue "key concepts are openness to difference, inclusiveness and creativity. They are translated into activities in which it is hoped that minority and majority populations will establish new means of communication, allowing power relations to be freshly negotiated and participants changed thereby."[155] These sorts of initiatives underscore what Yúdice and other have pointed out: that "it is nearly impossible to find public statements that do not recruit the instrumentalised art and culture […]."[156]

Non-governmental and not-for profit organisations are arguably operating similar ways. A growing number of non-governmental and not-for profit organisations use music as a resource for other ends, such as to transform conflicts and for peace building, and to offer disadvantaged people future opportunities through music. The total number of these organisations is hard to estimate, and their methods and work are sometimes very elusive since it is often difficult to get into these organisations to do research.

To give a few examples of Dutch organisations that use music in this way, but also to show how their working methods are spreading, are Musicians without Borders and Sounds of Change. MwB trains music workshop leaders through a method they developed themselves, with the aim to ultimately transform conflicts by bridging communities in post-war zones through

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153 According to this leaflet, the total amount of funding through AMIF and the International Security Fund (ISF) which is the twin fund of AMIF, counted seven billion euro spread over 27 AMIF national programs and 31 ISF programs. See European Commission, leaflet *EU Funding for Migration and Security: How it Works*, available through: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/e-library/docs/20150814_funds_amif_fsi_en.pdf (accessed June 27, 2019).

154 European Commission, Migration and Home Affairs, "Funding," "Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF)," last updated June 27, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/asylum-migration-integration-fund_en (accessed June 26, 2019).

155 She moreover argues that in respect to the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, these ideas projected in the form of performances of utopia and analysis these performances by means of Baudrillard's concept of "hyperreality" and Jameson's ideas on simulacra. Beckles Willson, "Dialogue," in *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 259.

156 Yúdice in Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission*, 11. (Or Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 31.)

music. Their workshop methods can be seen expanding, since they are for example attended by music program leaders of De Vrolijkheid, and I suspect by Lucas Dols of Sounds of Change as well.[157] Additionally, both Musicians without Borders and Sounds of Change train music leaders abroad according to their own methodology.

Other such organisations that are not based in the Netherlands are El Sistema and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra. Internationally, El Sistema's span is growing as well, especially since it has caught the attention of UNICEF and the UNHCR. To give an example how El Sistema's methods might relate to refugees and asylum seekers, in June 2017 in light of World Refugee Day, the UNHCR Sweden organised a pop-up concert in collaboration with the El Sistema Sweden Dream Orchestra consisting of (unaccompanied) refugee children, which rather explicitly according to the UNHCR title "[…] played for integration."[158]

Additionally, Rachel Beckles Willson has discussed the phenomenon of the instrumentalisation of the arts in relation to the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra and institutions from Europe and North America bringing Western classical music as musical missions to Palestine.[159] She takes Yúdice's instrumentalisation and expediency of culture further by arguing that even though Yúdice proposes to see the instrumentalisation and expediency of culture in light of a fourth episteme commencing after the end of Cold War, she shows how the current musical missions that aimed in one way or another to spread Western (classical) music in Palestine are in fact a continuity of the religious (Protestant) missionaries to Palestine.[160] This research relates to MwB and SoC as well since they also work in these and other regions. This approach to continuities of missions and ideas about music and art is somewhat reflected in Belfiore and Bennet's discussion of colonialism too, thus making it clear that a historical perspective is important to understand mission-like initiatives today.[161]

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[157] In the following video, which is part of a one hour MwB Sounds of Peace Music Workshop Manual, Lucas Dolls can be seen participating, YouTube, "I'd Like to Say Hello," posted by Musicians Without Borders on March 3, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ch7TjinaAtY&frags=pl%2Cwn (accessed May 21, 2019). The manual by Musicians Without Borders and Peace One Day for Peace Day on September 21, which illustrates some of the methodologies of MwB can be found here: http://www.peaceoneday.org/sites/default/files/sounds_of_peace_workshop_toolkit.pdf (accessed May 21, 2019).

[158] See about El Sistema, amongst others, Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). UNHCR Northern Europe, "Refugee Children Play Music for Integration," by Caroline Bach, published June 20, 2017, https://www.unhcr.org/neu/12648-refugee-children-play-music-for-integration.html (accessed June 26, 2019).

[159] Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[160] Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission*, 12.

[161] Belfiore and Bennet, *The Social Impact of the Arts*, 141-145.

CCO AND OP: MUSICAL CURIOUSITY AND SOCIAL CONCERN

I now return to the twofold reasoning about intrinsic values and instrumental values of music as they figure in the reasoning behind the establishment and work of OP and CCO. I suggest that Van Leeuwen, Wittink, and Oomes's statements about how their curiosity about the music that refugees and asylum seekers might have brought that partly or wholly led them to seek them out, could be seen as statements about intrinsic value of music. This intrinsic value of music, i.e. their musical curiosity, coupled with a social concern, led them to establish their organisations.

Under the header "meet and connect" on the homepage of CCO is written: "Catching Cultures Orchestra gives the music that refugees bring with them a place in the Dutch society and offers people with different cultural backgrounds the opportunity to make music together in interaction with a diverse audience. Our pillars are musical curiosity and social concern [Dutch: betrokkenheid]."[162] These two pillars are quite similar to the reasons stated by Ted van Leeuwen when I asked him what had moved him to working with music projects for the target group of asylum seekers. He answered:

> My own curiosity. Just eh, yes. You know there are so many people, so you also know that there has to be musical talent among those and I had never heard eh, an Iranian song or an Arabic melody, or… purely my musical curiosity. I want, I want to learn that, I would like that, so let's go. And eh looking for talent too. So really, purely my own, so it is much more selfish than altruistic. And actually, that is, that works really well… That makes it really reciprocal, I mean, it is of course true that… I am the trigger that makes it happens. Eh the booster [Dutch: aanjager]. Catalyser or however you would want to call it, but eventually, when we start making music I learn just as much from them as they from me. There are really good, eh, there is a really good reciprocity in that. Which I find important myself… Yes, if you make music you are equal and nothing bothers me more than when people… with the best intentions are telling others what is good for them.[163]

Later on when talking about the (musical) goals and aims of OP, he mentioned that he finds it important that "this music gets heard," and that it deserves a place on the Dutch stage, and that the music is played for as broad as possible audience, which he thought is also important for the participants.[164] When I asked him why he feels it is important to offer a stage for this music, he thought for a while and then answered:

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[162] CCO, "CCO" (Homepage), https://catchingculturesorchestra.nl (accessed June 30, 2019).
[163] Van Leeuwen, interview with author, 11-(11).
[164] Van Leeuwen, interview with author, 13.

> … Well… eh… one is actually a social goal and that is, I find that refugees are often eh seen as a problem or as pathetic. And I both find that terrible I mean... I want to show people who are in their strength […] Showing people their strength is important I think.[165]

What seem to be recurrent themes here are (as we will later see with CCO), is a form of scouting for talent, a musical curiosity in the music of refugees, the idea that making music together is equal, and that social concern drives the organisation as well at least to some extent. Comparing some of the statements that Wittink and Van Leeuwen made about their goals in relation to refugees and society, CCO is actually more explicit in a two-fold reasoning behind the orchestra. The way in which they speak about any social aspect or good intention of the projects already makes this clear: Van Leeuwen discussed good intentions or social impacts as "side effects," while Wittink discussed them in terms of "side goals." The previously mentioned report by the LKCA is a case in point here: when Van Leeuwen mentioned this research, I said that I had read it too, and that I remembered it was more about integration. He responded that it was exactly that, and further that "I was sitting there between all sorts of people who were doing things very much out of really good intentions, I am actually very asocial in that sense. I just want to make music. And eh, if in the process a good intention is realized, that is beautiful. But that is not why I started it."[166] He seemed somewhat sceptical about the notion of integration as well, seeing it as something what might perhaps as an unplanned result of participating in OP, and not a goal in itself.

Thus, CCO is much more explicit about a two-fold reasoning or foundation of CCO in regard to both the intrinsic values of music reflected in musical curiosity and the desire to learn these musics, as well as social values, in terms of aiming to help build a network for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders that can be useful in their future lives in the Netherlands. OP at first sight seems predominantly interested in the music that refugees bring and to help put this music on stages in the Netherlands. His social concern which I see as somewhat instrumental, relates mostly to his problem with the ways in which refugees are often represented as victims or powerless. To help aid this, he expressed that he wanted to show the strength of these people in the form of and through performances on stage.

[165] Van Leeuwen, interview with author, 23.
[166] Ibid., 81.

CULTURAL PARTICIPATION, DIVERSITY, AND TALENT DEVELOPMENT

Cultural policy themes about cultural participation and diversity, as well as talent development are considered as potential ways to use music as a resource for other ends. In what follows, I investigate this further and try to uncover how these themes also figure in CCO and OP.

In his article, Vuyk argues that the end of World War II, liberal western governments dropped their restraint on developing a cultural policy for the arts in the context of the Cold War, as mentioned above. He suggests that in developing cultural policy programs and the instalment of ministers and budgets for culture, "participation" became the main issue, whereby it was considered important that "every citizen should have the opportunity to become acquainted with what the arts had to offer."[167] Vuyk underscores that there were particular motives for governments to develop cultural policy centring around citizen participation and upholding the guise that arts were and should be autonomous and innovative at the same time, that is, to set off against the utilitarianism and traditionalism of communist governments. Vuyk however, does not account for why participation remained, or perhaps again became a central issue in cultural policy: is the emphasis on participation in cultural policy a trend that continued even though the Cold War ended? While I have as of yet found no answer to this, Belfiore & Bennet argue that stimulating cultural participation has figured in different strands of writing about the powers of art across time from Aristotle's catharsis of theatre that would lead to "personal growth and of a moral self-perfecting process," to Mussolini's efforts to construct a fascist nationalist identity, to social science theories of Weber, Simmel and Bourdieu about the arts as way for social stratification.[168] However, Yúdice's framework can be used to understand the continued emphasis on participation as well, since when considering culture as a resource to achieve something else, participation in the eyes of policy makers might lead to urban and neighbourhood development.

Cultural participation however, is only one of the main trends in Dutch and European cultural policy: it is often coupled with cultural diversity. Belfiore and Bennet, and Pots, observed that the cultural policy trend to stimulate cultural diversity is more recent. Belfiore and Bennet argue that in the UK cultural diversity became important for the Arts Council after the underrepresentation of cultural minorities in publicly funded arts and culture had "become politically embarrassing."[169] They explore the issue further in a footnote, stating that cultural diversity as well as access to culture became increasingly important in cultural policy debates in

[167] Vuyk, "The Arts as an Instrument?" 175.
[168] Belfiore & Bennet, *The Social Impact of the Arts*, 80, 149, 175.
[169] Belfiore & Bennet, *The Social Impact of the Arts*, 144.

the UK since the equal opportunities legislation in the 1970s and the issuing of the Race Relations Amendment Act in the year 2000.[170]

In the Netherlands, this discussion on cultural diversity and participation is reflected in the published guiding principles for the period 2021-2024 by the Minster of Education, Culture and Science. In these principles figure the two longer standing strands in cultural policy about cultural participation and (cultural) diversity. Here, cultural participation is mostly seen as a responsibility of municipalities and provinces. In exemplifying efforts in cultural participation, the minister highlights efforts of the municipality Ede-Wageningen, which amongst others, invests in the cultural participation of Dutch persons with a migrant background and refugees.[171] Diversity, which became part of the agenda of cultural policy a bit later than cultural participation, now becomes more solidified in Van Engelshoven recommendations. The so-called Fair Practice Codes, the Governance Code Culture (Dutch: Governance Code Cultuur), and most important in the context of this thesis, the Code for Cultural Diverstity (Dutch: Code Culturele Diversiteit) are now strict conditions for funding, which makes it clear how invested policy makers now are with these ideas. Those who do not adhere to these principles, are knocked out of the basic infrastructure for culture.[172] The Code for Cultural Diversity originally stemmed from 2010 when then Minister of OCW Ronald Plasterk had asked the cultural sector and institutions to develop such a code.[173] When his successor Minister Jet Bussemaker redrew attention to the code in 2015 adhering to diversity along the four pillars of the Code namely program, public, personnel, and partners, were still considered the responsibility of the institutions themselves.[174]

The municipality of Utrecht recently reconsidered the term "cultural diversity" in its development of cultural policy for the years 2021-2024 (to which CCO additionally bids). In effect, they changed the terms of the debate from cultural diversity to cultural inclusivity, with the underlying idea that diversity does not automatically leads to inclusivity.[175] This could be seen as a consequence of a problem with "cultural diversity" that Belfiore and Bennet point out as well.

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[170] Belfiore and Bennet, *The Social Impact of the Arts*, 211n12.
[171] Van Engelshoven, *Uitgangspunten Cultuurbeleid 2021-2024*, 10.
[172] Ibid., 9, 16
[173] Henk Scholten and Siebe Weide, *Cultural Diversity Code – English Version* (not dated), 1. Available through: http://codecultureldiversiteit.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Code-Culturele-Diversiteit-Engels.pdf (accessed June 26, 2019).
[174] Code Culturele Diversiteit, "CCD +," Copy Right from 2011, https://codecultureldiversiteit.com/de-code/ (accessed June 26, 2019).
[175] In January 2019, the municipality had organised a session during which those involved in the cultural sector in Utrecht could think along and make recommendations for the new period of municipality funding 2021-2023. I had requested the recommendations that came out of this meeting through e-mailing the municipality in which the idea that diversity does not automatically lead to inclusivity was expressed. See also the following document in which the guiding principles for cultural policy are laid out: Gemeente Utrecht, *Kunst Kleurt de Stad*: *Cultuurvisie 2030 en Cultuurnota 2021-2023*, published July 2019. Available through: https://www.utrecht.nl/fileadmin/uploads/documenten/wonen-en-leven/vrije-tijd/kunst-en-cultuur/cultuurnota-2021-2024/2019-06-Cultuurnota-2021-2024.pdf (accessed July 24, 2019).

They emphasise that authors like Tatiana Aleksic have warned that policy on cultural diversity might reinforce divisions between minority cultures and majority cultures when minority cultures are represented as Other out of the offshoot of colonial hegemony and imperialism.[176] By quoting Tony Greaves, they emphasise that Art Councils and organisations like those, such as government bodies making cultural policy, often use the term short handedly, without critically engaging with the value systems that run through the art sector which might ultimately lead to a failing of the intentions of policy to stimulate cultural diversity in the first place.[177] However, if inclusivity would solely be used short handedly as well by the municipality of Utrecht like Greaves suggests is potentially the case with cultural diversity, then value systems about art and music, including complex issues such as orientalism and exoticism in the case of both music of refugees and migrants and the musicians, will not be challenged.

The ideals about participation, diversity, and inclusivity have potential and important merits for the representation and opportunities in the art sector for minority groups. Nevertheless, when looking at cultural policy themes such as participation and cultural diversity or inclusivity, it also becomes clear that these themes are also occasionally, if not inherently, informed by an expediency of culture. In November 2011 for example, the municipality of Utrecht published its visions for culture for the period 2012-2022 in which the municipality expressed its desire to become Cultural Capital of Europe in 2018. The vision reads that a good cultural climate adds to the beauty and attractiveness of the city and favourable living conditions, but also that it helps to attract (international) companies to settle in the city and attract (international) audiences. To summarise the fundamental thought in this vision with one sentence of the document "A culturally strong city is an economic and societal strong city."[178] In its efforts to achieve this goal, the municipality aims to put its efforts into "top culture," new talent, cultural diversity and broad cultural participation, which includes the stimulation and strengthening of, for example, cultural community centres in neighbourhoods so that they attract larger audiences.[179] Yúdice conceptualises these kinds of linkages of socio-political and economic agendas in the context of multiculturalism as the "cultural economy," whereby cultural talent is, for example seen as being brought in by migrants which stimulates and innovates cities and transforms them into economic and creative centres.[180] He continues to suggest that since culture

[176] Belfiore and Bennet, *The Social Impact of the Arts*, 145; see Tatiana Aleksic, "Benevolent Racism: Can the *Other* represent itself?," in *Facta Universitatis; Series: Linguistics and Literature* 2/9 (2002): 349-357.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Own translation. Gemeente Utrecht, *Open Ruimte: Cultuurvisie 2012-2022* (published November 2011), 3. Available through: https://www.utrecht.nl/fileadmin/uploads/documenten/wonen-en-leven/vrije-tijd/kunst-en-cultuur/Cultuurvisie_202012-2022_-_Open_Ruimte_1_.pdf (accessed July 25, 2019).
[179] Gemeente Utrecht, *Open Ruimte*, 3, 14.
[180] Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 16.

thus became seen as a "an engine of capital development," but that the economy itself has been "culturalised" whereby cultural and mental labour and intellectual property have become legally regulated and managed.[181] Within this episteme, notions of innovation, diversity, as well as inclusivity of different cultural expressions and groups, talent development, as well as I would argue broad cultural participation become key terms to stimulate urban development, economic growth, as well as stimulation of the inclusivity of minority groups and art forms.

When looking into the figuring of notions of cultural participation, cultural diversity and talent development in CCO and OP, it becomes clear that both ensembles have a particular interest in developing and scouting for musical talent, but that CCO more than OP makes an effort to define and explain the project in terms of diversity and participation. This in part could be seen as a consequence of CCO's attempt to get into the structural funding program of the municipality of Utrecht. Wittink told me that when he asked for funding from the municipality of Utrecht again recently, they had told him that the municipality of Utrecht finds the project of CCO very interesting and that it is a very good example in the context of policy on diversity—which is a high priority—besides that it is musically interesting.[182] Moreover, according to Wittink, the municipality Utrecht had expressed their desire to include CCO in their four-year cultural funding plan for the period 2021-2024, if CCO is able to increase a clear focus regarding activities, priorities, a particular focus, and invest in a firm organization.[183] In relation to this, Wittink said that this year is a transition year for CCO, whereby it aims to reconsider its aims, priorities, and activities so that they can apply for the four-year funding of the municipality.[184] Part of the same story is that CCO as discussed in the second chapter is both located and active at neighbourhood cultural centres which is additionally part of the rationale of the municipalities as localities in which participation can be stimulated effectively. Moreover, CCO, as well as the municipality thus seem to draw from the presence of a diverse population, including the residents of asylum seeker centres from the COA azc location, as well as status holders and migrants, who I would say become "marked" as those that make up the element of "diversity."

[181] Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 17.
[182] I have not found a specific report or document from the municipality of Utrecht backing this up. Roelof Wittink, interview with author (18).
[183] Wittink, interview with author (18).
[184] Ibid.

CONNECTING THROUGH MUSIC

The climate of ideas about intercultural dialogue, music's ability to connect people and build bridges between communities, I suggest, underlies non-government or charity organisations that use music more broadly to affect social change and development, including CCO and OP as well. In this final section, I discuss how ideas about music's "power" or presumed function or ability underly many statements about how music as a consequence of this power or function can be used instrumentally to achieve other goals. I first discuss how equality within the music ensembles OP and CCO is seen as an important condition for fostering connection between members with different musical and cultural backgrounds. I then discuss how both funders and charity organisations built on ideas about the universal quality of music and its inherent ability to connect people. I note how OP predominantly uses the idea that music is a universal language which can transcend linguistic and musical confusion, while CCO predominantly uses the idea that music connects people with musical and cultural backgrounds which forms the basis for their idea to connect people in a community around CCO.

In CCO and OP equality between (Dutch) participants and refugees is deemed important (even though underlying inequalities such as white privilege, different statuses regarding citizenship and rights remain) and where music is sometimes seen as a vehicle for achieving this.[185] The process and activity of making music together is often considered to be (inherently) equal. When I asked Roelof Wittink after he spoke earlier about the ability of music to connect people and whether he believed that music has some kind of power, he stated that "And equality, right. It is very equal and it is not like ehm… come here, this is our musical practice, this is your music part, ehm, try to play along."[186] He stated this to me after suggesting that I also should interview the musicians with a refugee background since those who pull the strings of organisations, are oftentimes white Dutch people, while if you truly would want things to be equal, the musicians with a refugee background should have a say in explaining what the project means. It could additionally be one of the reasons why CCO decided to ask musicians with a refugee background to bring in their music, for when I asked him, he mentioned that Hermine

[185] In relation to intercultural dialogue and Musicians without Borders, see the following article co-authored by Laura Hassler (director and founder of MwB) and Lis Murhpy (founder of Music Action International), Pam Burnard, Valerie Ross, Laura Hassler, and Lis Murphy, "Translating Intercultural Creativities in Community Music," in *The Oxford Handbook of Community Music*, edited by Brydie-Leigh Bartleet and Lee Higgins, 229-242 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
[186] Wittink, interview with author (26).

Schneider for a large part was the force behind connecting the social with the music.[187] Beckles Willson, as well as Geoffrey Baker, have however shown that organisations and the dynamics within ensembles are often not as equal as they seem, and this could be a fruitful direction of research into initiatives like OP and CCO as well.[188]

Most if not all the organisations that are considered in this thesis, articulate ideas about what kind of work music can potentially do or help achieve. Often, this articulation draws on ideas that music can "connect" people, bridge gaps between different communities, facilitate (intercultural) dialogue, and function as a "universal language." I argue that "climate of ideas" is very much part and parcel of the phenomenon of the instrumentalisation and expediency of culture. Many of these ideas about the function or power of music can be found in mission or goal and vision statements of the organisations. Besides the use of these ideas in mission statements, it also pops up regularly in legitimations of sponsors to fund organisations, as well as in policy documents as the quotation at the start of this chapter by Van Engelshoven in her guiding principles for Cultural Policy in the period of 2021-2024 show. Additionally, the paradigm, or climate of ideas, that music is a universal language is broadly carried by general publics, organisations, participants of projects, and sponsors of said organisations alike. Below, I look into how these ideas figure in OP and CCO's mission statements, in comparison to a few other organisations mentioned in chapter 1, as well as how these ideas are interlocked with the instrumentalisation of arts and culture by (government) funders.

The mission- and vision statements of MwB for example, are respectively as follows: "To use the power of music to bridge divides, connect communities, and heal the wounds of war," and "To inspire people worldwide to engage as peacemakers and use music to transform lives."[189] Additionally, MwB's motto is "war divides, music connects," which aligns with their statement about their reasons to use music: "We use music as a tool to build connections, foster empathy and shape communities. Studies have shown that music is a powerful tool that can influence behaviour, shape culture and strengthen social bonds. We use music as a means to address the needs of societies divided and affected by conflict."[190] Especially the fostering of empathy is a

[187] During this question, his mouse dropped to the floor, so I hope this was not a large distraction from my question. Wittink, interview with author (28).
[188] See Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Beckles Willson, "The Parallax Worlds of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 134/2 (2009): 319-347.
[189] Musicians Without Borders, "Why Music?," https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/eng/why-music/ (accessed April 30, 2019).
[190] Musicians without Borders, "Why Music?"; Laura Hassler and Chris Nicholson, "Cello Lessons and Teargas: War, Peace, and Music Education," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Arts*, edited by Georgina Barton and Margaret Baguley (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 418.

cornerstone and one of the core values of what the organisation tries to accomplish through the use of music, as becomes clear in founder Laura Hassler's articles and talks (mostly Ted Talks).

One perhaps contrasting example of an organisation discussed in this thesis, is the more "hands-on" approach of Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten in fostering connections between people with its aim to support (professional) musicians with a refugee and migrant background to find work in the Netherlands by creating a network of musicians, agents, performance venues, conservatories, et cetera, and by developing an information point about the music labour market.[191] In the interview it became clear that Crispijn Oomes sees music as a "greasing oil for integration," where integration is seen as an effort by both "host" communities and refugees and migrants, and constituted partly from being able act out their professions and get around.[192]

In chapter 2, I already pointed out how CCO discursively represents the neighbourhood community that it aims to build around itself. But the material presented there additionally shows how the construction of a community and the building up of a network of people that refugees could use, is hinged on the idea that music has the ability to connect people, regardless of cultural differences and background. This becomes clear for example in the following quotation, taken from CCO website:

> The chance to make music together and the opportunity to share their music and develop provides the refugees the chance to build up a future in the Netherlands. Making music is a wonderful way to be yourself, to develop your talents, have fun together and learn from each other. Music is a tool to connect people no matter how different your background and cultural tradition is.[193]

Thus, it seems that what music is a tool for to achieve in instrumentalist terms, i.e. to develop talents and connect people, helping them to build up a social and professional network in the Netherlands which might help to facilitate integration, flows out of the presumed quality or power that music is seen to have, namely a power to connect. Wittink mentioned the ability of music to connect people in the above mentioned LKCA research too, saying that: "Music connects, but in order to connect it has to be seen and heard by others."[194] In the previous chapter, I pointed out that Wittink emphasised how CCO in its efforts to build a community, should be visible within the neighbourhood as an orchestra that wants to do something with that neighbourhood. The aspect of visibility is thus an important issue according to Wittink in relation

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[191] Netwerk Migrantenmuzikanten, "Doel/Objectives," http://www.migrantenmuzikanten.nl (accessed July 24, 2019).
[192] Crispijn Oomes, interview with author (page 7 and 27 of interview).
[193] CCO, "Hoe het begon," https://catchingculturesorchestra.nl/over-ons/hoe-het-begon/ (accessed July 23, 2019).
[194] Own translation. Wittink in Angela van Dijk, Saskia van Grinsven, Nada de Groot, Joost de Haan, and Maaike Kluft, *Culturele Interventies Gericht op Statushouders* (LKCA and Movisie, January 2019), 21.

to the ability of music to connect people. This aspect of visibility somewhat resembles the reasoning of Van Leeuwen to offer a stage to the music of the asylum seekers and status holders in OP.

When setting the ideas that CCO holds about how music functions in the project to the ideas that OP holds, it shows that the paradigm of the universal quality of music is more dominantly present in the latter's statement about the function of music. Van Leeuwen, for example, when I asked him if he could elaborate on the visions and goals that he has with OP, expressed: "I have noticed myself that music is a very universal language, and I want the public to experience this too."[195] He restated this when I asked him whether he believed music had some kind of power (which was perhaps a leading question) saying that, "Music to me is just energy. And ehm, encounter, and eh, a universal language. Absolutely that music, ehm, even for a short time, gives strength."[196] When asking how he would describe the musical collaboration between people with a different musical background, he said that everybody, both musicians and publics, understand what the songs are about, and everyone recognizes the emotions, like love, sadness, or anger expressed in the music which can be emphatically understood even when participants did not speak the same languages and regardless of where the music comes from.[197] The manner in which participants are able to play each other's music or "add to it" even though the cultures are so different and the rhythms untraceable (in the example he provided an Ethiopian and Uygur musician) is given as a demonstration of this.[198] Modar Salama, who occasionally works as OP's percussionist and teacher, also expressed that he believed that music is one universal language, and that different musical traditions and cultures are dialects, which together find a way, making it easy to use.[199] Thus, while CCO emphasises the ability of music to connect and as a consequence achieve the establishment of a social network, a community, and on the long run foster, I would say, a form of social cohesion, OP emphasises music's universal quality which transcends cultural differences, which might although this is not a goal in itself, lead to integration, empowerment, or a temporary escape from the space and circumstances of asylum seeker centres.

Funders, however, also draw on the paradigm that music is a universal language that can connect people with different backgrounds, which ultimately works to legitimise the projects, and arguably the ideas of the function and power of music as well. On the 5th of July in 2012, OP won the first ever Gouden C (Engl: Golden C) award from the Cultural Participation Fund

[195] Van Leeuwen, interview with author (21).
[196] Ibid., 55.
[197] Ibid., 33.
[198] Ibid., (69).
[199] Salama, interview with author, 32.

(CPF).[200] It was chosen out of all the projects the CPF had subsidized over the course of 2011. The jury's criteria involved the "inspiring function for the cultural sector and the impact the projects have on the creative development of the participants."[201] According to the jury report the idea behind the award is that the winner is meant to serve as an ambassador for active cultural participation, and to inspire other projects that have an impact on the participants of the projects. Some of the comments of the jury—which included Kees Vuyk— are also interesting to point out:

> The jury has a high appreciation for the social relevance of the project. Orchestre Partout is aimed at the unlocking of musical talent of residents of asylum seeker centres by making music in a for that purpose established orchestra. Music can serve as an outlet for asylum seekers, who are not allowed to work and are stuck in the daily reality of an asylum seekers centre. The participants of the orchestra are addressed on their musical wealth and talent. The project is also an enrichment of the neighbouring people, the neighbourhood and the participating schools. The spin off is great. The jury is also of the opinion that the current project at AZC Alkmaar is a good example for comparable projects at different places in the country. The National Foundation for the Promotion of Happiness (in short Happiness) and the 5th Quarter have been working at special projects for several years and Orchestre Partout makes for a beautiful development in their offering. With this prize the jury would like to put the work of both organizations in the spotlight.[202]

What comes to the fore in this quote, are some of the key themes that are important in Dutch cultural policy at large which can be traced back in the Cultural Participation Fund, namely the development of talent, the importance of equal opportunity for cultural participation, the focus on neighbourhoods, and education. What is also interesting is that the jury sees the work of OP as an example for other places which makes it not very surprising that they also came to fund CCO. Moreover, it shows the extent in which the expediency and instrumentalisation of culture figures around key cultural policy theme about cultural participation which the CPF as part of the BIS is ultimately supposed to stimulate.

The paradigm of the quality of music as a universal language, however, is more directly present in the mentioning of the award in the Culture Magazine (Dutc: Cultuurmagazine) of the Cultural Participation Fund, which it publishes yearly. In the article discussing the award-winning project, the idea of the universality of music is stressed by the reporter in the following way:

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[200] Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie, "Nieuws, nieuws en persberichten," posted on July 5, 2012, https://www.cultuurparticipatie.nl/nieuws/orchestre-partout-wint-gouden-c.html (accessed May 31, 2019).
[201] Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie, "Nieuws, nieuws en persberichten."
[202] Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie, *Jurayrapport De Gouden C 2011*, Margriet van Kraats, Michiel van der Kaaij, Wies Rosenboom, Kees Vuyk, available through: https://www.cultuurparticipatie.nl/data/1_Juryrapport%20Gouden%20C%202011.pdf (accessed May 31, 2019).

> Even though the bandmembers of Orchestra Partout cannot understand each other, this unique ensemble once again confirms that the language of music is universal. How else than with music can an Ethiopian keyboard player, a flutist from Iraq, a guitarist from Morocco, and a Dutchman on a double bass and two [female] singers from Afghanistan and Myanmar tell a story together?
>
> An Afghan narrating song for example, that in the full house of Cultuurcentrum De Pletterij in Haarlem despite the language barrier still gets 'understood' by everybody. 'That song was about love, but you probably had understood that already,' smiles Ted van Leeuwen when he speaks to the visibly moved audience.[203]

While the magazine article might not necessarily reflect the perspective of the CPF at large, it illustrates how discourses of funders and organisations mutually construct and rely on each other to legitimise the projects, which in turn is embedded in the climate of ideas about music facilitating intercultural dialogue and connection and instrumentalisation of culture more broadly.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I explored the theories of Yúdice, Bennet and Belfiore, Vuyk and Beckles Willson on the instrumentalisation of culture, in other words, the use of music as a resource (or expedient) to achieve other ends such as cultural and social development. Drawing on Yúdice, I showed how the main themes of Dutch cultural policy on cultural participation, cultural diversity, talent development and artistic innovation can also be understood in light of the instrumentalisation of culture. The incentive for the CPF (as part of the BIS) as well as for municipalities to fund CCO and OP rest on these main themes which were ultimately seen to stimulate things like "social integration" and the development of neighbourhoods through cultural participation, and to make cities more attractive for international audiences as in the bid of Utrecht to become Cultural Capital of Europe.

Both CCO, OP and government (funding) policies were shown to draw on both sides in the debate. I equated arguments that celebrate the intrinsic values of art and music with CCO and OP's curiosity into and desire to learn the music that refugees and asylum seekers bring with them. Both OP, and especially CCO, did express social concern too. While Van Leeuwen's main goal with the project was to establish a stage for the music of refugees, asylum seekers and status

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[203] Sarah Haaij, "Orchestre Partout," in *Cultuurmagazine 2012*, Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie, Eindhoven, 47. Available through: https://www.cultuurparticipatie.nl/file/1413215377.0328CUMUVU/cultuurmagazijn-2012.pdf (accessed June 1, 2019). Perhaps Haaij mentions this performance, during which one of the female singers sung behind the curtain because of her religion. YouTube, "Orchestre Partout," published by Pletterij, on March 30, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AAD7bK2a620&list=PLradcn34QTPHDmAgYJ_mzlsCwSLDvQQPs&index=1&frags=pl%2Cwn (accessed June 1, 2019).

holders, his social concern related to the representation of the power of refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders by performing on stage. CCO's social concern was expressed more explicitly, namely to help refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders to build up a network that would help them in their future lives in the Netherlands and help them develop their musical talents. Ultimately, I suggested that CCO and OP's arguments about the instrumental abilities of music appeared to rest on their presumed ideas of what music can do, namely the inherent equality of music making, to connect people with different cultural and musical backgrounds as well as transcend cultural differences and misunderstandings through music's quality as a universal language. In sum, it could thus be stated that both non-profit or charity organisations and government bodies work with the similar ideas on the alleged use of music as a resource to achieve other ends.

CONCLUSION:

CONNECTING REFUGEES THROUGH MUSIC

This thesis has been premised on the idea that charity organisations and institutions that establish music projects for refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders, both offer opportunities and set constraints for their constituencies. Moreover, I argued that these organisations can be understood through the instrumentalisation of culture: their ideas about music's ability to connect people and transcend cultural and musical differences form the basis of what music is thought to be able to achieve. In this conclusion, I first summarise my main arguments and finally point to ideas for further research into charity organisations like the ones discussed in this thesis.

The first chapter offered an initial sketch of the organisational landscape through which the organisations based in the Netherlands could be compared along the lines of what kind of organisations they are, how they are funded, their geographical location and reach, their target group and musical choices, and labelling practices. Each of these features can be seen to set up boundaries that configure who can and cannot participate in the musical projects. This kind of boundary drawing becomes most obviously visible through choices in locations and target groups the organisations make. By looking into the concept of organisational labelling practices it was also shown that most of these organisations enter into what I called a labelling paradox. This paradox brings up a dilemma for organisations that out of good intentions hope to aid refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders, and at the same time (have to) work with labels such as refugee and asylum seeker that are highly politicised. By drawing on DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly, the musical choices about whether to use western (popular) music traditions, hybrid forms, or "authentic" music traditions of refugees that organisations stand for is a complex issue when postcolonial perspectives are brought to bear on this. I would suggest that any of these features of organisations can be further explored.

One such feature, geographical location and reach, was further explored in this thesis by zooming in on concepts of place, locality, politics of space and community in the case study discussion of CCO and OP in chapter 2. The bulk of this chapter investigated geographical theories about asylum seeker centres and refugee camps to get a better understanding of how the spatiality of asylum seeker centres infringe on the musical activities of OP, including potential

efforts to construct a community or family "within" the ensemble. Here I argued that the heterotopic space of asylum seeker centres that sees asylum seekers as deviations from the norm of "Dutch citizenship" is difficult to escape even in efforts to transform the label asylum seeker into "residents," or "participants" during musical activities of OP and De Vrolijkheid. Moreover, the concept of non-space emphasises the temporality of the stay of asylum seekers into these spaces, which has consequences for the continues change of participants to OP's activities with the exception of those participants, usually status holders, who continue to participate in the band rehearsals. The remaining section of this chapter hinted at how the discursive representations of the community that CCO aims to build around itself is articulated around the wholesale participation of neighbourhood residents in activities of CCO. Here I suggested that even though the community of CCO is still "under construction" in the sense that they are only now beginning to define what this community entails, participation is the key term in their efforts to connect family members, friends, neighbourhood residents and cultural institutions such as Het Wilde Westen in their community. This neighbourhood participation was further analysed in the third chapter in relation to cultural policy on cultural participation and cultural diversity.

The third chapter began with an exploration of theories on the instrumentalisation of culture by Yúdice, Belfiore and Bennet, Vuyk, and Beckles Willson. These theories brought to the fore that the instrumentalisation of culture is not new. Yet, in postmodern and neo-liberal societies today governments and non-profit organisations do, according to Yúdice and others, increasingly use arts and culture as a resource for other ends, such as economic and social development. Hence Yúdice's use of the term "expediency" of culture. Cultural policy trends such as cultural diversity, cultural participation, intercultural dialogue, artistic innovation and talent development were shown to be part of this instrumentalisation of culture: they are considered to ultimately stimulate social and economic developments, like "social integration" and "social cohesion," urban development, and the international appeal of cities which would draw international audiences and even companies.

From CCO's and OP's organisational perspective, the music that refugees brought with them interested them out of musical curiosity, which I argued reflects values about an intrinsic value of music. At the same time, both CCO and OP to a lesser extent do have instrumental values about music as well. CCO sees that making music together connects refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders with hosts and with each other, which helps refugees to set up a network that can help them further in their future lives in the Netherlands, and perhaps even facilitates "integration." OP's social concern mainly revolves around the representation of refugees including their victimisation. The project's achievements of chasing away boredom in

asylum seeker centres, and aiding social integration were seen as possible side-effects, not as side-goals as in CCO's mission statements. From the perspective of government cultural policy, investing in organisations with a cultural ANBI status by funding them mostly relies on the incentive that these organisations stimulate cultural diversity, cultural participation, talent development and artistic innovation. These themes in Dutch cultural policy also draw from both intrinsic values of art and the economic and social values: the projects of CCO and arguably OP as well, are seen to have both musical value and instrumental value since they might stimulate social integration of refugees, asylum seekers and status holders.

I state that ideas about what music is thought to be able to do, or in other words, what kind of "power" music has, underlies both the music initiatives of charity organisations and the government's reasons for funding these. These ideas include the thought that music is a universal language which transcends linguistic and other misunderstandings, and thus cultural and musical differences between people, that music is able to build bridges between communities (in post-war zones), that music connects people, and that music transforms lives.

There are a number of ways in which the research in this thesis could be taken further. First of all, from the organisations that are based in the Netherlands, I only researched OP and CCO in detail. The efforts of organisations such as MwB and SoC abroad in refugee camps and detention centres has hardly been researched. The spatial governmentality of these spaces, both in asylum seeker centres in the Netherlands and in camps and centres all over the world, could be an entry point into these initiatives, by analysing how multiple organisations enter into regimes that manage the bodies of refugees, in Marta Zarzycka's words. Moreover, while there is increasing research about the actual impact of music in initiatives of organisations like the ones I discussed, especially in music education and community music research, it would be valuable to get a better understanding of where the ideas that music transform lives and that it is a universal language, in the first place historically came from. Beckles Willson's research into how Protestant musical missions to Palestine can be seen as prefiguring current musical missions, and Belfiore and Bennet's work on the history of (western) ideas about the social impact of the arts are valuable resources and starting points, I think. Further, since voices of refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders are often already marginalised, also in my own research, I feel there is an important need to not only look at organisations, but also into how refugees, asylum seekers, and status holders experience these musical activities, and how they see these activities as aiding and/or constraining them. Moreover, their voices and opinions are also important to better understand to what extent charity organisations and their musical activities are really able to "transcend" musical and cultural differences and bridges and connect people.

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APPENDIX:

SELECTED REPERTOIRE OF CCO AND OP

CATCHING CULTURES ORCHESTRA

"Bêrîvanê" – performance resembles the recording by Ciwan Haco (?)

"Habibi Ya Nour El Ain" – Amr Diab (Egyptian singer)

"Kanou Ya Habibi" – Fairuz

Example by CCO: YouTube. "Kanou Ya Habibi – Fairouz | Nederlands Blazers Ensemble." Published by Nederlands Blazers Ensemble on December 17, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=30t74o_PGcI&frags=pl%2Cwn. Accessed July 2, 2019.

"Lamma Bada Yatathana" - …

"Nassam Alayna El Hawa" – Fairouz

"Salaamalek" – Farhad Darya

"Zooly" – Omer Ihsas

ORCHESTRE PARTOUT

"Ana Esmi Habibak" – Ragheb Alama

Example by OP: YouTube. "Ana Esmi Habibak – Orchestre Partout – Podium Witteman." Published by NTR on March 16, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rgw7fk3O3GE&frags=pl%2Cwn. Accessed July 2, 2019.

"Baba to Ki Hasty" – Barobax

"Bent Bladi" – (Abdessadeq Cheqara?)

"Hare Layle" - Shamal Saib

"Lamma Bada Yatathana" - …

"Mawtini" – Palestinian (and Iraq) national anthem